ESSAYS
ON
TRADE
AND
Navigation.
In FIVE PARTS.

The First Part.

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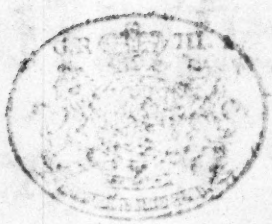

THE PREFACE.

I Know no Subject that hath been more writ on, and worſe handled, than that of Trade; nor is it to be wondred at, ſince it is the miſfortune of that Myſtery not to be in the hands of Philoſophers, or men bred to the Liberal Sciences; but ſuch whoſe Education hath been more in the Cantore, *than Schools: And when men of finer Heads and Studies engage in it, they commonly make Flights as far above the genuine Meaning and Nature of Trade, as others that are better verſed in it do cover and deface it with Incoherence and Lumber.*

There is alſo another Diſadvantage that Treatiſes of Trade and Navigation lye under, which other Studies and Employments are not liable unto; and that is, Trade being Univerſal *in its Nature, but* Particular *in the Practice, one Merchant dealing for one part of the World, and perhaps a ſtranger to another, yet if he writes of Trade, cannot be confined unto his own Province, for that would be too narrow for a Diſcourſe of Trade; and if he ſhould keep within his Bounds, he may not be a proper Judge of that where he is a Party; and in diſcourſe of his own Trade may interfere with that of his Neighbour, either by being ignorant of another's, or partial in his own concern: But it is not thus in*

other Profeſſions; The Divine is within his limits, not intermixt with the Lawyer, nor is He with the Phyſician; yet each learned and qualified to expatiate on their own Studies; and there being no part in any of the foregoing Arts practicable in matters of Trade, it ſeems to me a prejudice to Commerce, that ſo many trouble the world with their crude and undigeſted Notions in that which they underſtand not themſelves; nor can have any other effect, but diſturbing men that are in their own Track and beaten Road of Traffick; which is better for the Nation to have followed, than any particular Model of private men: And therefore I conceive a Council of Trade abſolutely needful, where every man's Obſervation may be brought under a thorough Scrutiny, and out of all a Body of Trade compoſed.

Having ſaid this, I may be thought to condemn my ſelf in what I arraign in others; nor do I undertake to be quit of all I blame in others, my beſt defence being to claim the Privilege of being in the Crowd with the ſame Impunity others have allowed them; and perhaps have ſomething more to plead in my excuſe than moſt men have, my Education and Practice in Trade having been for Thirty Years at Home and Abroad in a Univerſal Trade. I know of but Four Trades that I have not ſome way been concern'd in, the *Eaſt-India*, *Turky*, *Muſcovy*, and *Green-land*: And I muſt further ſay for my ſelf, That in all I here treat of, it is with ſubmiſſion to better Judgments, not aſſerting my opinion in oppoſition to any other; tho I confeſs

feſs I cannot approve of many of thoſe Prints on Trade which I have ſeen, except what Sir *Joſiah Child* hath with great Judgment and more Perſpicuity ſet forth, than any I ever ſaw.

What I deſign by the following Diſcourſe, is not much more than an Introduction to the other Parts that ſhall ſucceed; nor had this come forth alone, but that I have ſeen ſome things lately publiſh'd, that in my humble Opinion are no better than Libels on Trade; and tho I affect not Controverſies, and therefore do not name them, yet believe it may be uſeful to write another Senſe on the ſame Things; ſubmitting both to the Cenſure of better Underſtandings.

I think it a mortal Diſtemper in Trade (nor to be cured becauſe in the firſt Concoction), That we have ſo few men of Univerſity-Learning converſant in true Mercantine Employments: If there were as much care to have men of the beſt Heads and Education in it, as there is in the Laws, the Nation would fetch more from Abroad, and ſpend leſs in Law-Suits at Home. We have it reckoned up by the Infallible Author, as the Glory of a City, That her Merchants were Princes and Nobles; their Buſineſs and Tranſactions in the world with ſuch, is more than belongs to any other Set of men: Would it not then be the Honour of a Nation, as well as Profit, to have men of the beſt Senſe and Learning in the Foreign Negoce of a Kingdom? If ſuch had been in the Trade of theſe Kingdoms, it ſeems reaſonable to believe we had not loſt the moſt conſiderable Navigating Trade and Employment of our Seamen.

It would be an astonishing Observation to men of any Countrey but our own, to see more Heads employed in Westminster-Hall *to divide the Gain of the Nation, than there are Hands on the* Exchange *to gather it together. I have sometimes thought, that if these Kingdoms lay not under the confusion and unintelligibleness of Understanding in Trade, as the Builders of* Babel *did in Languages, we might without the Sin of those arrogant Architects, erect such Towers in Trade as might overtop the Universe in that Mystery. We see how all Arts and Sciences have been improved in this Kingdom within the compass of one Century, but amongst them all, the Merchants Part the least; and the reason is plain, men of small Learning and moderate Understanding, are generally put in it: For tho there are some of excellent Parts and clean Heads among them, yet the Major Part are not so polished: I speak not this to abate the Respect that I shall always think is due to the Profession, and all men in it; but we know it is the Vanity of the Nation: Scarce a Tradesman but if he have a Son that a Countrey Schoolmaster tells him would make a Scholar, because he learns his* Grammar *well, but immediately passes the approbation of his Kindred, who judge it pity so hopeful a Youth should be lost in Trade; the University is the only Soil fit for him to be planted in.*

By such disposition of the Youth of our Nation, many a good Tradesman is lost, and poor Scholars in every respect made; and if this Humour prevail in Mechanicks, and men of ordinary Quality; much more, and with better Pretensions, it affects our Gentry; to be sure the Eldest Son is above Trade,

and

and if the Younger be of a Quaint and Studious Temper, they are thought fit for the Law, not many for the Pulpit, which I confeſs I likewiſe think a Miſtake in our Gentry: Had we more of Them in the Clergy, we ſhould have fewer to deſpiſe, that might be better Builders of Houſes than of the Church.

But to return to what I obſerve of the Improvement in all the Employments in the Kingdom, I ſee none that have arrived to that vaſt Increaſe as thoſe in the Law: This perhaps is accounted an evil; but I will not quarrel with that Long-Robe; I hope it will be no offence to wiſh them among us, but not with their Bar-Gowns; they would in my opinion look better in a Counting-houſe than in the Temple; and had the Humour of our Anceſtors run that way, as much as it did for the Law, there might have been as great an Enlargement in Maritime Traffick and Navigation, as there is now of the Laws: I preſume none will ſay, that they began with equal Numbers; Trade had the Primogeniture, and ſet forth with the Employment of the People, before there could be work for Lawyers; and I believe thoſe of beſt value amongſt them do not think their Growth and Gain contributes to either in the Advantage of the Nation; tho without the Profeſſion there can be no ſecuring Property; but perhaps the Numbers make more work than there would be if they were leſs. Hamburgh, tho a Place of great Trade, allows but Two: And tho our Foreign Plantations are fill'd with men of no better Principles than they leave behind them, yet they have few among them who raiſe their Fortunes by the Law; for which no reaſon can

be given, but that there is not a Foundation and Nursery for that Profession to breed up Men of Learning and Ingenuity in.

I have been the longer on this Subject, because there seems to me an Expedient in this matter; and that is, To make such Provision for Noblemen and Gentlemens Children, as may be equally reputable with the Inns of Court, for young Gentlemen to come to from the Universities, and with less Charge than their Expence in Seven Years studying the Law, become expert in Trade.

To be thus managed: In each Maritime City and considerable Port of the Kingdom, to have a College built, in which there may be some Persons of Experience in Trade, to teach and direct in the Mystery of it, to all Parts of the World: And that they may have the Practick, as well as Theory, That every Person entring himself into the Society, may be obliged to bring in a Thousand Pounds Stock, which will make a Capital perhaps of 20 or 30000 l. Sterl. to Traffick with in Thirty Cities, &c. in the Kingdom: They to be obliged to spend Five Years in this Society, and at the end of that Term to receive the Principal they brought, allowing the Casualty of Profit and Loss, as it happens: Going thus out, they will be entred in Trade, and probably have a Fund to begin with; and by this means Trade will fall into the hands of Gentlemen, Persons of Learning and Consideration in the Nation; and likewise preserve from misfortunes numbers that now miscarry in their Studies of the Law, thorough Ill Conversation, and having no Employments.

To this Project (*a Word now traduced to contempt, tho in its ſelf of good ſignification both for Peace and War*) *I foreſee two Objections that will be made againſt it; and they are theſe:*

Firſt, *This will make too many Merchans.*

Secondly, *That this will leave no room for Younger Brothers, that have nothing to prefer them in the world, but a ſmall Sum to put them Prentice to a Merchant, by which they often raiſe their Fortunes in the World.*

To the Firſt I anſwer, That the evil of having too many Merchants, is in the Numbers that are bred up from Apprentices; many of which coming into Buſineſs without Funds, ſtrain their Credit, which to keep above water they are forced to venture at all ways that have but a Probability of Succeſs, to keep themſelves in Buſineſs; and then to comply with their Credit often ſell to loſs, which in the end brings them to Misfortune, and that begets an Opinion that there are too many Traders; whereas the true reaſon is the Want of Stock, not Number of Merchants.

The ſecond Objection, That this will hinder Merchants from taking Apprentices, is in part anſwered in the firſt, that their Number prejudice Trade: But there is a farther Conſideration in this matter, and that is, Two ſort of Youths ſtand Candidate for a Mercantine Education, Gentlemen with a Capital, others of leſs Quality with none. I think it will admit of no queſtion which ſhall be preferr'd; and that the other may be more profitably employ'd for the Nation and themſelves, in Trades that require more Labour and leſs Stock.

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But after all I have ſaid, my Wiſhes are greater than my Expectation, to ſee Trade thus courted in a Kingdom that treats it as ſome do their Wives, conſidering them no farther than to the Production of a Legitimate Poſterity, reſerving their Careſſes and Delights for a Miſs; ſo the Humour of this Age ſeems to incline, whilſt Foreign Commerce is neglected, and mens Thoughts and Deſigns run after Offices and Employments in the State; to pay which, Spider-like, the Nation ſpins out her Bowels to catch Flies; and the Simile goes farther, ſuch Food turns into Poiſon, where it feeds men faulty in their Morals; and ſuch too often ſupplant better men, or find ways to be preferr'd before them: To ſay this, will be no Offence to deſerving men; and for others, I ſhall only deſire them to ſuſpend their Reſentments until the Second Part comes forth, and then they will have more reaſon, becauſe it will come in my way to be more particular, when I come to ſpeak of the Trade of Ireland; *in which there hath of late been ſuch Notorious Demonſtrations how Ill Men in Offices and Places of Truſt may ruin and deſtroy a Kingdom, as admits of no Defence. I have for this, the Authority of Both Houſes of Parliament in their Addreſſes to the King: And the Infallible Author tells us, That* he who ſaith to the wicked, Thou art righteous, the people will curſe, Nations ſhall abhor him.

What I have ſaid in the following Diſcourſe, relating to Trade and Navigation we have loſt, is not with prejudice to our Neighbours, who by their Induſtry and better Conduct have gained what we by ſupine Negligence and deſtructive Impoſitions on

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Merchandiſe have loſt; nor do I think it Chriſtian or Human by Club-Law to take that from another Nation which God hath made common for every Nation to participate of, as they can entitle themſelves by the moſt early and beneficial Methods in Commerce. The Dutch *lye moſt in our way in this Controverſy; but the Sea is wide enough for us both if we agree, but too narrow if we quarrel, for then we ſhall be apt to joſtle. How malicious it looks, I will not ſay, but to me it ſeems ſcandalous, to quarrel with men for their Induſtry; Envy is the Offſpring of Ignorance and Sloth, and is an evil quality in a people, tho it carries them not ſo far as to do others hurt, if it prevails with themſelves to do nothing; but as I am not for beating a Traveller for being better mounted than my ſelf, and ſo making his Journey eaſier and ſooner than I can, yet I ſhould ſtop his Career if he broke through my Fence, or grazed on my Ground, or made it his Road. In ſome caſes it is ſo with Trade and Navigation; among others, that of* New-found-land *is the Property of the Imperial Crown of* England; *and the* French *have no more Right to fiſh there, than in the River of* Thames: *This Nation was the firſt that ever threw a Hook and Line in thoſe Seas; and tho there is no Land-marks above Water for the Bank of* New-found-land, *(it lying out of ſight of the ſhore) yet there is under Water, from the firſt Soundings, and ſo far this Nation hath a Property; and we may now, if ever, hope to have it aſſerted, ſince we have a King who hath put a ſtop to that Towering Monarch who knew no Bounds before: And there ſeems good grounds to*

believe,

believe, That if we are not wanting to Him who expoſeth His Royal Perſon ſo far for us, That the French *King muſt ſoon retire into his own Limits. But upon Diſcourſe of this nature I have been anſwered, When it was ſo, and the War over, then, and not before, was a proper time to treat of Trade: I have mentioned ſomething of this in the following Sheets, and therefore ſhall ſay the leſs now; yet cannot omit that which ſtares us in the face, The Neglect of Trade in time of War drives many out of the Kingdom who will never return: It is obſerved ſo at this time of* Ireland; *Thouſands are come away ſince the Reduction of that unfortunate Kingdom, that endured the whole brunt of the War, and are not now in fear of the* Iriſh, *but are reduced to Beggary by Idleneſs, for want of Trade and Employment that they formerly had; the conſequence of which is eaſy to be read, and how it will reach us at laſt; but we are a People that neither Fire, Sword, Plague, or Famine can work upon. He that ſilently laments, doats; and he that complains of our impendent Misfortunes, is mad; a Character now more in uſe than ever in this Nation, and found very uſeful for covering ſome mens actions: I ſpeak not this as having a Talent for, or deſire to be in Publick Employment; I never was in any: That which I believe would ſatisfy all men of Trade and Commerce, I am ſure it would me, is the Motion of a Parliament-Man of* Leverpoole, *which we find in Story; That a Bill being brought into the Houſe which bore hard on the Commons, in Trials for Life and Death of the Lords, the honeſt man of* Leverpoole *ſtood up and ſaid,* Since he ſaw

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the Houſe were for paſſing that Bill, he gave his Aſſent alſo; provided there might be this Exception in the Act, That no Lord ſhould kill either him, his Wife *Joan*, Son *Tom*, or any of the good Town of *Leverpoole* for which he ſerved. *So ſay I, Since the Nation are contented that the Publick Treaſure ſhould be ſhared among Offices and Employments, Merchants and Seamen, &c. are content, ſo that they in the Management will give Security and Encouragement for Trade, which pays them all; but they are not wiſe to themſelves that let Trade run from them, whilſt they are warring to ſecure it; our Neighbours do not ſo.*

Our improvidence in this matter is to our great Reproach, ſince we are under the Bleſſing of ſuch a Government as this Nation never had but once before: And it is not to be forgotten, that in that Reign, tho encompaſſed with Wars, there was more done in the advancement of Trade and Navigation than ever was done before: We have taken care to loſe much of it ſince; but we have now a King that denies us nothing we ask for the good of the Nation; and where any thing is entire in himſelf (and it is well ſome things are ſo) we find it, There never was Better or Greater Men in the Church and on the Bench; which is ſufficient demonſtration, that where we are unhappy, it is by our own Recommendation and Parties. The Filth of the laſt Reign ſtill ſticks about us; from which Time will, I hope, relieve the King and Us.

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THE CONTENTS.

Of Trade in general, Page 1.
Of Naturalizing and Encouraging Foreign Proteſtants, 7.
Of Providing for Foreign Proteſtants, 11.
Of the Manufactory and Diſpoſe of Sheeps-Wool, 22.
Of Free Ports, 29.
Of Exports of Foreign Importations, 32.
Of a Council of Trade, 37.
Of Prohibiting Forreign Commodities, 41.
Of Sumptuary Laws, 49.
Of Working-Schools and Hoſpitals, 57.
Reaſons humbly offered for eſtabliſhing by Charter Hoſpitals and Working-Schools, 65.
Of the New-found-land Fiſhing, 68.
Of Navigation and Seamen, 75.
Of Building Ships, 84.
Of the Act of Navigation, 92.
Of Banks and Lumbers, 109.
Of Agriculture and Rural Employments, 116.

ON

ON

Trade in General.

THESE Kingdoms of *Great Brittain* and *Ireland*, differ from moſt parts of the World, in that of their Strength, as they do in that of their Scituation, and Aptneſs for Trade.

Their Scituation gives them the Preferrance of the moſt Valuable Trade in the World, which muſt paſs their Doors before it comes to their Neighbours; and as they are happy in their Scituation, ſo are they as Superiour to other Countreys in their Native Growth and Production for Commerce; as Rich Soyl is to that which is Barren; theſe Kingdoms producing Trade as ſome Land doth Fruit, without Art or Labour, when other Countries like forced Ground raiſe their Trade by Aſſiduity in both: And ſuch a People are more to be feared, than thoſe that abound with the Bleſſings of Nature, but want that of Induſtry; we need go no further than the *Dutch* and *Spaniards* for Demonſtrarion.

The Danger that hath been impendent over us for more than Thirty Years in this of our Trade, is from the *French*; and in Truth no Nation in the World can ſo well conteſt it with *England* as they

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can; and therefore it ſeems reaſonable to conſider them in this as much as we do in that of their Armes; and perhaps they may be found laying a Foundation in War to enlarge their Trade and Navigation, and we at the ſame time declining in both.

That theſe Kingdoms cannot be ſafe under the Growth of *France* none will deny, and that it is ſafer for *England* to meet them in *Flanders* than here; but if the Advance Guards ſhould be only conſider'd, and the Main Body neglected, the conſequence might be fear'd.

Our Naval Force is thought the Main Body and Strength of the Nation: Now though large Supplies in Parliament are abſolutely neceſſary for that uſe, yet there is ſomething elſe wanting to make us formidable at Sea, and that is *Marine* Trade and Navigation, which like Food to the Body muſt be dayly renewed, or elſe our Naval Strength will decay. *And although perhaps it is not conſider'd, yet the want of Seamen for our Navigation and Trade in time of Naval War, Impoveriſheth the Nation more than the Charge of the War.*

There goes many Threads to make up the Webb of Trade, too fine for every eye to ſee; and among others the Cheap Navigating Ships is one: Now our want of Seamen obligeth Merchants to advance their Wages, and that gives Advantage to our Neighbours in carrying Commodities cheaper to a Market than we can, and conſequently makes them the Carriers of our Produce and Manufactory; which is the only certain Gain in Trade. Merchants often looſe when a Ship Arrives ſafe in Port, but Seamen have their full Wages.

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There is alſo another Prejudice and Loſs to the Nation, and that is carrying Money out by Foreign Seamen that are imployed in our Merchant-Men, ⅓ being allowed by the Act of Navigation; which might have been thought the only miſtake in that Act, if the Conſideration of our not having ſufficient for our Ships had not produced that Liberty.

As Naval War abates the number of our Seamen, ſo it increaſeth thoſe of the *French*; for that they imploy more Seamen in their Privateers, than they do in time of Peace in Merchant-Men: And as this affects us in War, ſo it may reaſonably be fear'd it will in time of Peace; *For having ſo many Seamen made to their hands, will naturally put them upon inlarging their Navigation; to which they will be the more incouraged by our want of Men to ſupply ours, which they will ſoon fall into.*

And the Abating of our *Marine* Imployments hath a worſe Conſequence than the Loſs of our Trade; for that it ſeems the moſt effectual way to lay us open to the Invaſion of the *French*, which *we are no longer ſecure from, than whilſt we Command the Sea*; And if we find the *French* alone able to contend with us and the *Dutch* United, what might they not do if they ſhould be aſſiſted with other helps, and we left ſingle to oppoſe them, *There are more ways than one to bring ſuch a Revolution in* Europe: And therefore it ſeems of the greateſt moment for this Nation, to provide in their Naval Force, as if they were left to their own defence againſt the Power of more than the *French* at Sea: It is, no doubt, the Intereſt of *Eng-*

gland to ſupport the *Dutch*, and it is hoped we ſhall never be divided. But that Kingdom is in an ill Condition that cannot ſecure its ſelf without the Force of its Allies

Such Reflections as theſe may not be improper in this Age, *They were thought neceſſary in the Reign of Queen* Elizabeth, *when ſhe queſtion'd the* French *of Building a Ship of War but of Fourteen Guns.*

And ſince they are now above ſuch Demands, and that we cannot reſtrain them, it ſeems neceſſary for us to increaſe our own; and that is not poſſible to be done any other way than by Improving our Navigation, and inlarging our Trade, *without which we may fight for the Sovereignty of the Sea until we have loſt the uſe of it.* If Account were taken of thoſe ſeveral Trades that this Nation hath in a manner totally loſt ſince the Reign of *James* the Firſt, it might open thoſe Eyes that are alwayes ſhut to that which is the Strength and Riches of this Nation, as Navigation is.

There were many Thouſand Seamen formerly imployed, where for late years we have few or none, as the *Greenland*, and *Muſcovy* Trade loſt; that of the *North-Seas*, and *Newfound-Land*, little better; moſt of our *Eaſtland-Trades* managed by Foreign Ships; and ſo the Trade of *Ireland*; the neglect of which in that point, as well as ſome others, may be found when it is too late of pernicious Conſequence to *England.*

Theſe are Trades we loſt to the *French*, and *Northern* Navigation, in time of Peace; and this War hath brought on the Stage the *Portugeſe*, a Nation we leaſt fear'd; yet under this cover, we may very well looſe great part of our *Southern*

Trade.

Trade. We formerly imployed our Ships in their *Braziel* and other Trades, and now we are forced to imploy theirs; not only becauſe of their being Free Ships, *but alſo becauſe we cannot get Seamen to Navigate our own Ships.*

By Accidents of War, Trade often ſhifts from one Nation to another, and ſome will ſtick behind after the War is ended; for that Seamen and Merchants reſt where they find moſt Incouragement; and wherever they come they are made wellcom, and when the benefit they bring to the Countrey they Trade in is obſerved, they will not want Incouragement to ſtay there: There never was a fairer opportunity, if the *Portugueze* make uſe of the Introduction this War hath given them; to make *Lisbon* the Mart for Trade, and Navigation in the *Weſtern* and *Levant* Trade: It is a miſtake to think that Navigation and *Marine* Imployments can have no growth where the Natives are not Numerous and Apt for the Sea.

Trade is beſt Improved by good Laws, and Incouragement for Strangers; where ſuch are together with a Scituation for Trade, that place will be crowded; and ſo would *Lisbon* and the *Portugueze Ports* if it were not for the *Inquiſition*; but it is believed the Rigour of that will be Abated now they have taſted the ſweets of Trade. All theſe things make againſt us, and though little conſider'd, bodes ill for theſe Kingdoms; if ſome extraordinary, and ſpeedy Reſolutions be not taken to regain our *Navigation* and *Sea-Imployments*, this Nation will fall under ſome Foreign Power. It is eaſie to read our Deſtiny, nor will it be like a Conqueſt on a Continent; *One Day at Sea may*

determine the Fate of theſe Kingdoms; and if we have no *Fund* or *Nurſery* for Seamen in Proportion to the *French*, and others about us, what can be expected.

That which I humbly conceive the moſt viſible Means to preſerve theſe Kingdoms in their Trade and Navigation, and nothing but that can provide for their Naval Force, *is the ſetting up a National Bank*: This now on foot is too little, and yet too bigg; the firſt becauſe it promotes nothing of our Navigation, but on the contrary may be fear'd to Deſtroy it, by that Tax on Shipping; but I have left my *Bank*; which as I conceive too little for the reaſon I mention'd, ſo I think it too big becauſe it will Ingroſs the Money, and conſequently the Trade of the *Nation*, into one City; and will draw from all Parts of the Kingdom thoſe little Sums that do now in great meaſure ſupport the Manufactoryes of the *Nation*.

When there was no place where Money could be lodg'd at Intereſt for a Day; it was eaſie for Induſtrious Men to borrow from their Neighbours; and by that means our Manufactories were made Plenty and Cheap; but now a little time will ſhew they can be neither: But of this I have writ my thoughts a part.

The *Bank* that I conceive would be uſeful in this Nation, muſt be of ſuch Univerſal Extent, that every Perſon in the Kingdom may be concern'd in it, and that every corner in the Kingdom ſhall partake of the Streams that run from it: That out of this *Bank* there may be Proviſion for Ships and Seamen.

That thoſe Trades before-mentioned, that we have

have loſt may be retrieved; and ſuch Methods laid down as may incourage that Navigation which imploys moſt Seamen, as the Fiſhing, &c.

To Eſtabliſh this *Bank* will require great Conſideration, for that as it may be Conſtituted, the Trade and Treaſure of this Nation will be very much increas'd; all the Poor and now Uſeleſs hands Imployed, not a Beggar in the Streets: And ſince *England* wants nothing ſo much as People, *One way to ſupply that defect, is to increaſe your work for them you have:* And ſo one Man may be better than two, as to the Riches of the Nation.

And the full Imployments of the Hands we have is the only way to get more; but to invite Strangers into a Kingdom, where *the Taxes for the Poor amount to more than the Revenue of ſome of the Neighbouring Countreys*, ſhews we conſider Trade as wiſe Men do Play, for Diverſion, not Buſineſs; and in that Deluſion may be read the Ruine of theſe Nations.

Of Naturalizing and Incouraging Foreign Proteſtants.

IT is obſerved that though there is no part in the Univerſe ſo ſtreightned, and filled with Inhabitants as the *United Provinces*, yet there is no Government that gives ſuch Incouragement to Invite in more: They make their Country as God hath the Air, every Mans Property that Breathes in it; and equally in the Power of a Man to be a

Deniſon, or a *Tenant*, a Burger as a Pariſhioner; the good Effect it hath in that Commonwealth needs no Illuſtration.

It may be ſuppoſed this Provident Oeconomy happen'd in that State, above any Government in *Europe*, by reaſon of their being of latter Date in their Eſtabliſhment, and ſo ſaw the miſtakes of their Neighbours; and on the other hand our Government deriving from Antiquated Laws, and Preſcriptions, which according to the Experience of thoſe times made Bullwarks againſt Strangers and Foreigners; believing they could never be ſecure of what they had in poſſeſſion, or at Liberty to inlarge their Fortunes, if Strangers were allow'd the Freedom of Natives: *But in the Reign of* Hen 3. *there was large Immunities given to the* Eaſterlins, then ſo called, to ſettle Trade in the Kingdom, which the *Steel-Yard* yet bears the Memory of, but that was but a particular and limited thing; the Old Laws and Prohibition of Naturalization ſtill continued, and by it this Kingdom deprived of ſuch Numbers as might have in ſome proportion fill'd thoſe waſtes that this fruitful Iſland hath now in it, for that it cannot be ſaid to be one half Peopled

There now ſeems a greater tendency in the Nation to remove thoſe Bars that lie in the way of New-Comers by that Charitable Law for Liberty of Conſcience, and as we owe great part of our *Woollen Manufactories* to the Bleſſed Memory of Queen *Elizabeth* receiving in the Perſecuted Proteſtants from Flanders, whoſe Poſterity are now become Natives, ſo may we the Inlarging of our Navigation, Fiſhing, and Numbers of our Inhabitants

bitants to this Reign, if Incouragement were given to Invite Proteſtants of all Nations to ſettle here with the ſame Security and Priviledge as Natives. I will not determine whither the Limitation of Offices and Imployments of Profit, may not be neceſſary to ſuch as are not born in that Kingdom, but I think that would be no obſtacle to ſuch as are worth receiving for that Trade, and purchaſing in that Kingdom muſt be the buſineſs of thoſe as are ſuppoſed to be invited in, and there Poſterity will be capable of Preferments in the Common-wealth, and the fewer there is of ſuch, (I mean Places and Offices of Profit amongſt us,) the better; we ſee it ſo in the *United Provinces*, where perchance there is not by Civil Imployments ſo many Men Inriched as we have in one Pariſh. Where there is moſt Trade there is feweſt Offices.

But to return to the Advantage of bringing in Foreigners, I preſume Men of Real Eſtates do believe that it will advance the Rates of Lands by a greater Conſumption of the Native Product.

And however ſome of our *Artizans* may miſtake it, yet the moſt conſiderable of them allow that the Increaſe of Hands in labour improves and increaſes Manufactory, even in the very Expence of them that are added; one Man that Works may have five or ſix that only Eats and Wears.

And it is undeniable that if the Increaſe of hands abates the Price of Manufactoryes, it will inlarge their Exports and Expence at home; the Cheap making of Manufactories abroad is known to be the chief Cauſe of abating our Rent.

The

The next Conſideration is that of *Seamen*, to Increaſe them by Foreigners admits of no Objection ſince we are forced to make uſe of them at dear Rates, and they carry out our Money for their Wages. If Merchants will not complain at the bringing in and Naturalizing Foreign Seamen, for the Reaſons before; ſo neither will our Seamen complain, for that the Increaſe of them will eaſe ours from the Preſs, when Foreigners are made as liable to it as they; whereas now they do our Seamen a double Injury, take their Imployment in Merchant-men, and leave them no way of getting their Bread, but by Sailing in Men of War. There remains then only to be queſtion'd the Prejudice Foreign Merchants may do to ours; for none deny but that they are an Advantage to all other Societies and Perſons in the Nation by their Trade and Expence; but to our Merchants, ſome may ſay they are a hindrance; though I do not think any Merchant, that is truly ſo, will ſay it, they are not found ſo in *Amſterdam*; but Merchants there are pleaſed with their Numbers, and it is alwayes accounted a Misfortune, even by them that ſtay, to have Merchants quitt a Place.

There might be much more ſaid, if it were wanting, to ſhew, That Naturaliſing Foreign Merchants can be no Prejudice to Natives; but ſince it concerns Men of the beſt Sence and Knowledge in buſineſs, it is but waſte of Time: They know Foreign Merchants abate not their Trade for want of Naturalization, but it is our advantage to have them brought under the Taxes and Offices of Charge in the Nation, as well as to have their Eſtates fixed in it.

Upon

Upon the whole I ſubmit to better Judgment, Whither the Treaſure of the Nation in the Bodies of Men, which I take to be of the greateſt Value.

The Wealth of the Nation by their Eſtates and their Support of the Government by bearing part of the charge of it, will not be advanced by the bringing Foreign Proteſtants into all the Priviledges and Immunity of *Engliſh* Men, which it in time will make ſo. If we reflect on the Numbers loſt in five years paſt, there may ſeem as much reaſon to recruit the Nation as the Army. Laws and Property hath always been the Language of our Nation, and much talk of ſecuring them; this ought to be done, but there is ſomething of greater Value that ought not to be left undone, which we hear not off; and that is, Proviſion for the Increaſe of Poſterity, and Wayes to Invite in preſent Supplies. If this came once under Conſideration of Parliament, I cannot but believe it would produce the beſt Statute this Nation ever ſaw.

Of Providing for Foreign Proteſtants.

AS I believe an Act of Naturalization would inlarge the Trade of this Nation, ſo would the planting Foreign Proteſtants in *Ireland*: And it ſeems but reaſonable that this Nation ſhould make ſome Advantage by that ſink of their Blood and Treaſure, which they never yet have done, but every Forty Years at moſt are put to the Expence of a New War: It is aſtoniſhing to reflect

on

on the Story of that Kingdom; in which it is ſaid there hath been above Fifteen Hundred Thouſand *Engliſh* murdered in Fifty Two Rebellions: It would be but a reaſonable and provident Conſideration how to prevent ſuch continual bleeding in that Kingdom for the future; But Matters of State is not the deſign of this Diſcourſe; only where Trade muſt call to it for Aid, as in this caſe it ſeems to do, for the Government to give a hand to the planting that Kingdom, by which it may be profitable to this; and it can never be by lying waſte, or being kept poor, which is a general Opinion amongſt us; and I fear one of our moſt pernitious Miſtakes in Trade, as it is point of our ſecurity, we ſhould allow ſome Thoughts and Value for the Bodies of Men; and if we did ſo, there would not be ſuch continued Slaughter in that Kingdom without producing one good Statute to ſecure that Countrey, as in reaſon it ſhould be intirely to the obedience and diſpoſition of this; the greateſt part of the Land of that Kingdom is, or ought to be in the hands of our Brethren, and they ſure will not be unwilling to give us the priviledge of governing it, eſpecially when by it we preſerve them, as by ſending Foreign Proteſtants among them we ſhould do: In private management we ſhould think him Lunatick that would purſue one Method a thouſand times over, though he had as conſtantly miſcarried in it; that ſeems the Caſe of *Ireland*; it is vain to imagine that *Britiſh*, ſo I think they call the *Engliſh* and *Scotch* of *Ireland*, can ever ballance the *Iriſh*; it is ſaid, the *Iriſh* are now above twenty to one at this time, notwithſtanding much more of the *Iriſh* periſhed in this laſt War, than of the *Britiſh*. That

That then which I conceive would be the beſt management this Nation ever made of *Ireland*, would be to diſpoſe the Forfeitures of that Kingdom to Strangers of all ſorts that are not of the Church of *Rome*; and having made that exception, it will be neceſſary to give my Reaſons for it. My Principles (I muſt confeſs) are againſt Force in Religion; but in this Caſe of *Ireland* there is a neceſſity to exclude as much as may be, thoſe that have any Relation or dependance on the Church; becauſe the *Iriſh* are a Bigotted People, and own a Foreign Juriſdiction, which is a Principle againſt the Government and Laws of the Land; and where thoſe of that Opinion are ſuperiour in Number to them that are in the Intereſt of Government, it ſeems abſolutely Incumbent on the Government to provide againſt ſuch Men as believe themſelves under the moſt Sacred Tyes of Religion and Conſcience, to Obey and Promote the Edicts and Injunctions of a Foreign Prince, for ſo the Pope is. But to return to that of bringing Proteſtants to *Ireland*; I conceive there muſt be more than making them Denizons, becauſe at this time *Ireland* differs very little from a new Plantation, and to Plant ſuch, there is always given larger Incouragement to New Comers, than in Setled and Planted Countreys. If therefore ſuch Methods were thought on, as might make thoſe that would ſettle in that Kingdom Freeholders of ſmall Proportions of Lands at very eaſie Rents, that might be a great Inducement to Foreigners to go and fill that Countrey, and they would ſoon by intermixture in Marriages with the *Engliſh* and *Scotch* become *Britiſh*; and ſo thoſe of the Intereſt of *England*

land would be Superiour to that of the *Iriſh* and Intereſt of *Rome*; and until it be ſo, *England* can never be ſure of *Ireland*. All that this Nation ever yet had by it, was a breathing time of thirty or Forty Years, and then had a new Conqueſt to make.

But ſuch a diſpoſition as this would prevent Future Rebellions, and alſo greatly Improve the Trade and Navigation of this Kingdom; For it is to be Noted, that the Chief Conſumption of *Ireland* is of the Product and Manufactory of this Kingdom: And by an Account I have ſeen, *Ireland* takes off more from us than *Virginia* and *New England*; and if we take it into our Care, would Imploy more of our Ships; but of that I intend in the ſecond part of my Eſſayes to treat at large, and in the mean time ſhall here Inſert *Verbatim* part of a Diſcourſe I find in a Pamphlet, Intituled, *The Linnen and Woollen Manufactories*: A Diſcourſe Printed in the Year 1691: The whole was Rational; but that which I think applicable to what I am now upon, was as followeth: He begins the Paragraff thus, as I ſaid before, *Ireland is no more than one of our Foreign Plantations, only I think it will be allowed the firſt Place, and more than any other in nearneſs of Blood; and that of our Nobles there being many Families in that Kingdom deſcended from the Antient Families of this; and moſt of the* Eſtates *in* Ireland *held by the decent from our Brethren, who purchas'd it with their Blood:* Theſe Reflections may prevail for our care of them, at leaſt to any Collony abroad; and we never think it our prejudice to have them thrive, nor would the growth of *Ireland*, if rightly diſ-

poſed

poſed or underſtood: And here give me leave to make a Digreſſion, if it may be call'd ſo, but you may think it not Foreign to the Diſcourſe.

I find it generally believed that *Ireland* is as miſchievous to our Trade in time of Peace, as it is deſtructive to our Men and Treaſure in time of War; and though this Opinion never went far with me, yet ſomething I did doubt was in it, until I met with ſomething that gave plain Demonſtration to the contrary, and it was this:

I fell into an intire acquaintance with a Gentleman of *Ireland*, whoſe experience and long continuance in all the Foreign Trade of that Kingdom furniſhed him with Arguments I could not anſwer, to prove that *England* was a great Gainer by the Trade of *Ireland*. When I could not confute him, nor he prevail with me; he told me he would ſhew me that which carried Authority with it; and ſo he did, being as he aſſur'd me, the work of ſome years, as he could ſpare time to compoſe it: The whole Diſcourſe takes up many Sheets upon the Trade of *Ireland* to all parts, and particular Remarks upon every Commodity Exported and Imported into that Kingdom; and where, and how it affects *England*. Some other things he reſerv'd as Secrets from me, as he doth the reſt from others; for it was never ſeen by any but one beſide my ſelf. Out of the whole, he hath extracted an Account of the Exports and Imports for one year in a medium out of ſix; and then diſtinguiſh'd what related to *England*, by what Ships brought in and out; then computed the Value of each

each Commodity, and to what they were Improved, being Manufactor'd in *England*, and then what Money in Specie, or Bills of Exchange, which is the ſame, was returned from Foreign Parts to *England*, out of the Proceed of Goods ſent from *Ireland*; all which appear'd, (being brought up to a Sum) that *England* Gained by *Ireland* Two Millions Sterling *per Annum*: It ſeem'd to me an Incredible thing; but being (as he affirms) Matter of Fact, for which he hath the account of the Cuſtoms, it is not to be denyed; the breviate is drawn in ſo plain and intelligible a Method, as renders it eaſie to any Underſtanding, and therefore to mine: I would fain have prevailed with him to Print the whole Matter, but he thinks it may be made uſe of a better way; and affirms that as great as this looks, yet it might be improved to much more, if the Trade of *Ireland* were diſpos'd as it might be to the Advantage of *England*: But he ſaid that Kingdom was in no Reign ſince the firſt Conqueſt of *Ireland* conſulted in its Trade, but left to its ſelf, or treated like an Enemy: All the uſe made of it was for Courtiers, Men of Projection and Neceſſity to Traffick, and diſpoſe it into Grants, Imployments, and Offices, and ſo made it rather a Foreſt for Game, than a Plantation for Trade and Commerce; and that which continued it ſo in the Reign of *Charles* the Second, was the Jealouſies and Miſtakes of *England*, believing it grew too faſt, and incroached on their Trade, though it is demonſtrable *Ireland* doth us no hurt, but where we by our own Laws force it; and that Act (pardon the expreſſion) like Lunaticks, that ſtrive to ſuppreſs their Shadows for fear they ſhould aſſault them.

None

None will ſay, *England* would be the worſe if it were double the Acres it now is; And though the Sea part us from *Ireland*, may not Laws make us one in our Intereſt and Trade; and ſo that *Ireland* may be more profitable to *England* in General, than *Wales*, or any County in *England* is to the whole in its proportion. There never was ſo fair an opportunity for Inriching this Nation by *Ireland*, as now it is by Divine Providence once put a Blank in our hands, in which His Majeſty may ſtamp what he pleaſes: And we have reaſon to believe, That He who ventures His Royal Perſon ſo freely for the Preſervation of theſe Kingdoms, will not deny us any thing that can contribute to our Growth in Trade and Treaſure. One thing I muſt not omit, which I had from this Gentleman of *Ireland*, that to me ſeems valid for Confirmation of all he aſſerts, That *Ireland* neither Interferes with, nor gains on *England*; for that in the laſt Twenty Years of *Irelands* greateſt Proſperity, not one Man in *England* purchaſed in *Ireland*; but Numbers of *Ireland* have in that time purchaſed in *England*, as they of that Kingdom, I mean the *Engliſh* always do, as they Increaſe their Fortunes. This being ſo, *Ireland* is to *England* a Mine of Treaſure, and affects us, though in a much larger Proportion; as *Newfound-Land*, *Hudſon's-Bay*, whatever is gained in them, terminates in *England*. Here I end with the Pamphlet, of which I ſhall only ſay, If the Matter of Fact be truly Related, as by the Authority he gives, we have reaſon to believe it is, then there is plain Demonſtration that *Ireland* hath been, and may be made much more profitable to

this Kingdom, then moſt of our Foreign Plantations: Of them we take great care; and why not more of this, ſince it lies ſo near, and coſts us ſo dear, ſeems unaccountable: The truth is, our Anceſtours had never ſuch a happy Juncture to do it, as we have now to ſecure it: If therefore we lay not hold on the opportunity put into our hands, we cannot anſwer it ſo well as they might.

The Numbers of Refugees here, and in other Countreys near us, are Objects in this caſe, both for our Charity to them, and Advantage to our ſelves.

There hath been for ſeveral Seſſions of Parliament much talk of the Forfeitures of *Ireland*; and that it was reaſonable they ſhould be Sold, and made a Fund to raiſe Money towards the carrying on the preſent War; which might be thought reaſonable for us of *England* to preſs, becauſe it would eaſe us of ſo much in our Taxes: But why the Gentlemen of *Ireland* were ſo buſie to promote it, was at firſt to me a queſtion, and ſet me on the Inquiry; and from ſome of themſelves I had this anſwer, That though they could not deny but the benefit of thoſe Forfeitures were juſtly due to us of *England*, yet the Juſtice of the thing was not all the motive they had to promote it; but their own future ſecurity was at leaſt as much conſider'd by them, for that they hoped the Sale of thoſe Forfeited Lands would put them in Proteſtant hands, and by that, ſtrengthen the *Britiſh* Intereſt in *Ireland*, which could never be ſecure, whilſt the *Iriſh* held ſo great a proportion in the Kingdom; and that whilſt the Land lay undiſpoſed, they fear'd the *Iriſh* would find wayes to be reſtor'd,

reſtor'd, they having got enough by their Robberies and Plunder of the *Engliſh* to purchaſe them, though they coſt them ten Years purchaſe: And that they were in fear alſo of the *Iriſh* buying from ſuch as had great Grants of Forfeited Lands; but if there was a Publick Sale, they would come into ſo many hands, that moſt of them would ſtick with the Purchaſer, and not come to the *Iriſh*. They further ſaid, It was not the Intereſt of *England* to let the Forfeitures come again into the *Iriſh* hands; for that they never Improved, nor Traded, and ſo were no wayes profitable to *England*. If this apprehenſion of the Proteſtants be valid, either to them, or us, it ſeems that a diſpoſition of theſe Forfeitures of *Ireland* to Proteſtant Strangers would anſwer all objections, and be a more certain way to keep ſuch Lands of *Ireland* out of *Iriſh* hands, then by ſelling them to the *Engliſh*; for by that they would be to greater value in one Mans hand, and the *Engliſh* would for advantage ſell them to the *Iriſh* Proprietors; for that few Purchaſers would go to ſettle on their Lands, nor could they find Tenants in the Countrey, ſince there is ſo much Land waſte; but if Foreigners had it in ſmall Proportions, they would be able to manage it themſelves, and ſo keep it from returning to the *Iriſh*. I have been longer on this of the Forfeitures, then perhaps will be thought proper, ſince my Subject is Trade: But ſince it hath relation to the Improvement of *Ireland* in the way of Trade, this Digreſſion I hope will be excus'd.

I return then to ſhew, how the bringing in Refugees to *Ireland* will advance the Trade of *England*, and that may appear in three particulars.

The Increaſe of People in *Ireland* will occaſion the Expence of Manufactories and Product of *England*; for that they have from *England*, or would, if the Laws of that Kingdom in Relation to the Cuſtoms were duely executed, moſt of the fine *Draperies*, *Silk*, *Iron Manufactory*, *Haberdaſhers-Wares*, *Hats*, *Sadlers Wares*, *Tapes*, *Pins*, and other ſmall Manufactories.

Alſo from *England* they have all the hopes, white *Salt*, *Coals*, *Braſs Commodities*, *Tobacco*, *Sugars*, and *Groceryes*.

They alſo Imploy, or ſhould ſo, if due care was taken in the Act of Navigation, the Ships of *England*; all which would be conſiderably advanced, if that Kingdom were improved by Foreigners.

2. Foreigners would Inlarge the Linnen Manufactory in *Ireland*, to which no part of *Europe* is ~~moſt~~ more proper: And there is already a beginning and aptneſs in the *Iriſh* to that Manufactory; and however, it is not the Intereſt of *England*, that *Ireland* ſhould grow in the *Woollen Manufactory*; yet it is that, that they ſhould in the *Linnen* and *Cordage*: But of this I ſhall in the Second Part, when I come to Diſcourſe at large of the Trade of *Ireland*, ſay more.

3. The bringing Foreign Proteſtants into *Ireland* will Inlarge the Fiſhings there: Great part of which will be to the Advantage of *England*, as would the General Improvement of *Ireland* be, if it were diſpos'd to ſuch Trade and Navigation as might be ſubſervient and helpful to ours: But to make Laws with deſign to keep them Poor, is not unlike him that ſet his own Houſe on Fire,

that

that his Neighbours might be burnt; keeping *Ireland* Poor, and diſcouraging the Proteſtant Intereſt there, puts that Kingdom in the hands of the *Iriſh*, and that renders it not only unprofitable to *England*, but dangerous the management of *Ireland*. Since the firſt Conqueſt will not be Credited in future Ages, and although we muſt own, of a Nation that hath the beſt Conſtitution in Government, we have alwayes been unhappy in the Adminiſtration; yet I think in nothing ſo much, as in the Neglect of Trade, and in that of *Ireland*; which any Nation but we, would make a Treaſure of; and we Imploy all our skill to make it an *Aceldama*: It hath been ſo to this poor Kingdom; and if relation be true, is in a ready way to be ſo again. They in whoſe Province it is, will conſider the Politick part, my buſineſs is Trade; and in that I will venture to ſay, *Ireland* might be made more profitable to *England* than all the Foreign Plantations have ever yet been. I confeſs *New-England*, and *Newfound-Land* may be made more than altogether; but that which makes *Ireland* of more Conſideration to *England* than all the reſt, is, becauſe without keeping that, we can enjoy none of the reſt. It is every days Refuge for our Merchant-Men, and not to be forgotten, how ſoon after this Reduction it ſaved our *Smirna* and *Levant* Fleet.

Of the Manufactory and Diſpoſe of Sheeps-Wooll.

THIS is the great Staple of the Kingdom, and in truth, of the World; which by Divine Providence is ſo put into our hands, as that without a turn in Nature, we cannot totally looſe it; yet all that is poſſible for an unthinking People, (as we are call'd abroad,) we have done to the prejudice of thoſe Commodities, by which means we have transferr'd great part of our Woollen Manufactoryes to other Countreys, to *Germany*, and *Venice* our Coarſe Draperies, to *Holland* and *France* our fine and New Draperies; and that which is remarkable, is, that we laid the foundation for looſing them, the ſame way by which we firſt got them; that is, by perſecuting Men for their Religion. *Abel*'s acceptable Sacrifice ſeems ſtill to follow the Fleece: No Society of Men in the Kingdom are ſo generally affected with the ſtricteſt Injunctions of our Religion, as our People bred up in the *Woollen Manufactories*; and theſe Men firſt fell under the Rod after the Reſtauration; an excellent Reform to drive Men out of the Kingdom for having too much Religion, but not queſtion ſuch as had none at all.

This driving our Clothiers into *Germany* and *Holland*, put them and their Friends upon Inventions to ſend our *Wooll* after them; and in that their Friends that ſtay'd behind were, and ſtill are aſſiſting them, though to the prejudice of the Trades they are in themſelves; there being nothing

thing that draws compaſſion more from one Man to another, than ſeeing Men of honeſt and unblameable Converſation us'd worſe than Thieves and Robbers for ſerving God according to their Conſcience. This ſeverity baniſh'd many thouſands out of *England* ſoon after the Reſtauration of *Charles* the Second: One *Tilham* carried in the Year 1665, Three Thouſand into the Prince *Palatine* of the *Rhyne*, and divers others did the ſame into other parts; inſomuch, that Account was taken of Twenty Thouſand Sacks of *Wooll* carried into one Port of *France* in leſs than Two Years from *England*, and more went from *Ireland*; and beſides, the Quantities that went for *Holland* is Incredible: All this is evidently fallen upon the Nation by the fury of thoſe that would make a Trade of Religion, and baniſh thoſe that had Religion with their Trades: But bleſſed be God we have now a King of a more comprehenſive Perſwaſion, and our Church better ſupply'd with Men of Learning and Charity, which the Infallible Authour tells us, is above all the Arts, Sciences, and Acts of Devotion whatſoever.

Such Numbers of Men being gone out of the Kingdom for want of that Liberty they may now injoy, it is a wonder they do not return; and a greater, that they are not ſent for, and Invited back: We do not conſider what the loſs of a Man is in a Kingdom not half Peopled: We want nothing ſo much as Bodies of Men; and it is ſaid, we have above Thirty Thouſand in Foreign Countreys, and they are not of the raff, but ſober, Induſtrious People; ſuch as theſe ſhould not be loſt.

But from the hands to Work *Wooll*, I come to the *Wooll* it ſelf; how uſeful, and in ſome caſes of ſuch abſolute uſe in their Manufactories, that they can make none of their beſt without our *Wooll*: This is no Secret, nor the Severe Laws that are made to prevent Eſcapes of *Wooll*, but none have proved effectual; ſome of them being too eaſie, and others ſevere to loſs of Life to them all. I have ſeen a Propoſal of a Gentleman that hath been a great Dealer in that Commodity to Foreign Parts, which he affirms would be Infallible to prevent Exports of *Wooll* to Foreign Parts, From *England*, it ſeems probable enough; but he is poſitive, and reſerves part of the Secret; which he ſaith, when told, will make every one that hears it as poſitive as himſelf. I would have perſwaded him to offer it to the Houſe, but he expects a great Gratification, and that he thinks at this time will not be given; though I am of another mind, and believe he deſerves more than he can either ask or expect, if his Project takes. It is indeed to be lamented, that ſolid Propoſals for the Trade and Manufactory of the Nation ſhould not meet with ſo much Incouragement as a Lottery; but to the contrary ſhould be ſuppreſſed: And I know a great Miniſter, who once diſputed on that with warmth againſt a care for *Wooll*, and that it was a burthen to the Nation; It may not be Foreign to this Diſcourſe to give the heads of the Diſpute, which I the rather do, that ſo it may ſhew the need there is for the Great Council of the Nation to take it under their Conſideration.

The

The Diſcourſe roſe on a Propoſition that was brought to him, for ſtopping a vaſt Quantity of *Wooll* that was then going to *France*; it was brought him in Writing, and demonſtrated, That that very *Wooll* was enough to work up all the Coarſe *Wooll* of *France* for Seven Years; and that the conſequence would be the loſs of great part of our Manufactories to *Spain* and *Portugal*.

The Miniſter made little return to that, but brought his Diſcourſe to the great Loſs it was to Men of Eſtates; that there was not a way for Selling twice the *Wooll* that now they did; That there was three Years *Wooll* then in *England*, and what ſhould Men do upon this Topick of the want of a Conſumption for the *Wooll* of *England*, the Gentleman laid down theſe Poſitions.

Firſt, That the War was one Reaſon of the Decay of the *Woollen Manufactories*.

Secondly, That the extraordinary Eſcapes of *Wooll* to Foreign Parts, put them upon making more *Woollen Manufactories* than ever they did before, and that abated our Trade abroad.

Thirdly, That our *Wooll* going to Foreign Parts made it ſo cheap at home; This I remember put the Miniſter into a Laughter; and laying the two firſt aſide, he deſir'd him to make out the laſt Poſition, That the Eſcapes of *Wooll* to Foreign Parts made the *Wooll* fall in Price: That the ſending ſo great Quantities of *Wooll* out of the Kingdom ſhould fall the Price of that which

which was left, was a Miſtery he could not underſtand, but ſeem'd to him, the only way to make it riſe: But the Gentleman undertook to make out his Aſſertion, that every Pound of *Engliſh Wooll* worked up Three Pound of Foreign *Wooll*; and that as much as they Manufactur'd, ſo much was Abated in our Exports; for that they made ſuch Manufactoryes with our *Wooll*, as they could not make without it; and conſequently by that means, one pound of our *Wooll* with theirs, made four times as much Cloaths and Stuffs as we could have made with it, if we had kept it at home: From which he Inferred, That if one fourth of the *Wooll* of *England* went to Foreign Parts, there would be as much Manufactoryes made Abroad for Foreign Markets, as we could make, if we had wrought all our own *Wooll*; and ſo much being made Abroad, we could not have uſe for half our own *Wooll* that was left: This he affirmed was the reaſon that there lay ſo much *Wooll* unwrought in *England*; and he being brought for Proof of what he ſaid, That which was Matter of Fact I thought undeniable, though it would not be allowed ſo by the Miniſter: The thing was this, The Year after the Reſtauration, there was a Gentleman that got a Grant from the King, with a *Non obſtante* to any Statute, for Liberty to Export a certain Quantity of *Wooll* to Foreign Parts from *Ireland*; upon which, ſome Merchants in *London* buying the Grant, ſent over to *Ireland*, and bought moſt of the *Wooll*, and ſent it to Foreign Parts; this at firſt rais'd the Price of *Wooll* both

both there and in *England*; but in so short a time as Five Moneths, it fell Fifty *per Cent.* And though not one fourth of what formerly came from *Ireland* into *England*, came then to *England*, yet there was no Vent for the *Wooll* of *England*; and in *Ireland* it fell from Seven Shillings to Three Shillings and Six Pence, their Stone of Sixteen pounds all the time they shipped it for Foreign Parts. This he affirm'd he could prove by the Merchants Books that were concern d, to be litterally true; and that the Year after the Shipping for Foreign Parts was over, that *Wooll* rise to its former Price both here and in *Ireland.* And he farther added, that the great Quantities which by stealth go from *England* and *Ireland*, makes *Wooll* in both Kingdoms fall in Price, according to the Quantities that are sent out. This part of the Dispute being over, the next Question was, Whither the *Wooll* of *Ireland* did not Abate the Price of the *Wooll* in *England*, and hinder Sheep Masters from Inlarging their Flocks, and consequently keep down the Rents of Land. This was answered in the Negative to all the three, that it did not Abate the Price of *English Wooll*, nor hinder the Increase of Sheep, or Abate the Rents of Land: That the *Irish Wooll* coming into *England* helped the working up of some *Wooll* that could not be made the most of without it. That the *Wooll* of *Ireland* was a larger Staple than that of *England*, and most proper for *Bayes* and *Serges*: That it was not the *Wooll* of *Ireland* that came to *England* that made the Price fall, but it

was

was that which went to Foreign Parts that did the Miſchief; and for the reaſons before given, he concluded, that if there went no *Wooll* from *England* or *Ireland* to Foreign Parts, all the *Wooll* of both Kingdoms would not be half enough to ſupply the Manufactories that *England* would have Markets for Abroad; for that there is now made twice as much Manufactories with the help of our *Wooll* Abroad, as is made in *England*; ſo that if there were an effectual ſtop upon the *Wooll* of both Kingdoms, the Flocks of both might be trebled, and yet not be ſufficient for the Manufactories *England* might vent. This in few words was the beſt account I ever heard of the Nature and Improvement of the *Wooll* of theſe Kingdoms, and is ſuch demonſtration of the Miſchief the Exports of *Wooll* doth to the Nation, that I cannot but think him a worſe Enemy to his Country than a Common Pyrate; for that he robs but a ſmall Number, but he that ſends out *Wooll*, deſtroys Thouſands, weakens the Strength of the Nation both at Land and Sea; and if we believe the Lord *Coke*'s Aſſertion, That Nine parts of the Trade of *England* comes from the Sheeps Back, there cannot be enough done to ſecure it; but it hath ever been the misfortune of our Nation, neither to puniſh or reward Impunity in the firſt, makes us abound in Criminals; and the neglect in the latter makes us barren of great Actions for our Countrey; I mean, in that which makes a Nation Rich and Wiſe: Our Anceſtours ſhewed more of their good will to it in the Dark of Trade and Navigation, than we do at Noon-day. I

have

have often thought that it was possible for a Monarch of these Kingdoms to make all *Europe* Tributaries to him in Trade, by a true Management of the Natural and Artificial Product and Navigation of these Kingdoms; without being oblig'd to any help, but what ariseth from his own Dominions, of which *Wooll* is the Chief.

Of Free Ports.

THere is nothing more talked of, and yet in my Opinion less understood than the use of *Free Ports.*

The great Success that of *Leghorn* hath met with, giving the Name a greater Reputation in the World than perhaps the thing in it self deserves, for that it seems the Effect of a bad cause; and though it is a good Expedient that hath neither Natural or Artificial Provision for Trade and Navigation, yet it may be prejudicial to a Nation that hath both: To make this Intelligible, give me leave to say something of the first Establishing *Leghorn* a Free Port; because I take that in all its Circumstances to be the first Compleat President in *Europe.*

The Grand Duke of *Tuscany's* Territories are not of Extent to produce Natural or Artificial Commodities for the Loading Ten Ships of Burthen a Year; nor is his Countrey able to Consume, except it be of Fish, half the Loading of that Number; and having not room for Trade of his

his own, it was no doubt his Intereſt to Incourage that of Strangers; which the Ignorance of all his Neighbours in Trade gave him opportunity to do: So ſtupid was the *Genoees*, as to believe, becauſe they had then the Money-Trade and Navigation of the *Levant*, that therefore they could ſet Laws and Bounds to other Nations, and make them pay Cuſtoms as they ſaw fit; this Exaction on Trade had the ſame effect as oppreſſion in Government, and drove Merchants to ſeek out better Entertainment, and the Duke had early provided for all that would come.

He was Deſpotick, and wherever that is, a general Exciſe raiſes the ſureſt Revenue; and Freedom of Importation advanceth it, by the Expence of thoſe that Commerce brings into the Country; but theſe Reaſons hold not in all places, particularly in *England*: And though perchance no part of the World in general ſpeaking, is thought better placed for Free Ports; and no doubt it is ſo, if the Conſideration be had on Foreigners; but I cannot think it ſo, for either King or People. I expect but few with me in this, therefore I muſt not paſs it over without giving thoſe Inducements that prevail with me to this belief: I begin with that relating to the Crown, *Free Ports* will give opportunity for running Goods, nor is it poſſible to prevent the Arts of Merchants when they have ſuch a handle as *Free Ports* will give them.

There is no one Kingdom, not *France* it ſelf, that Conſumes ſo much of Foreign Commodities as *England*; the Duties on which are very conſiderable;

ſiderable; but if theſe Foreign Commodities were lodg'd in *Free Ports*, the Cuſtoms would ſink, and the Expence of them Increaſe; which is a double Miſchief, the Loſs of the Revenue on one hand, waſting the Treaſure of the Nation upon Foreign Commodities on the other.

There is another Prejudice which *Free Ports* would bring to the Nation in general; and that is, they would leſſen and diſcourage our own Navigation, which by all means we have reaſon to promote.

Now if there was *Free Ports* in *England* which lyes in the Center of the Trade of *Europe*, all Nations would make our Harbours their Docks and Harbours for Wintering and Laying up their Ships; and this they might do with Advantage, by Selling part of their Cargoes, which Variety and Choice will tempt ſo Luxurious and Expenſive a People as we are to Conſume; and allowing that, which perhaps will ſeldom be, That they carry off our Commodities, yet that is no Compenſation for theſe Reaſons.

Firſt, It is no Gain to the Nation to eat up their own Product, as that would be, if Foreign Commodities was ſpent in Return of our own.

Then Foreign Ships carrying of the Product of the Nation, will Abate the Imployment of our own Ships and Men, and Inſenſibly Introduce them into our Carriage, which is the certain Profit of Trade.

And that which may not be leſs conſiderable than all before-mentioned, *Free Ports* would make our Loſs of the *Northern* and *Sound* Trade Irrecoverable,

coverable, by Transferring it unto the *French* and *Portugueze*, as well as the *Dutch*; for that out of our *Free Ports* they will be ſupply'd with ſorts of Commodities beſides their own, which is the Advantage the *Dutch* now have over us in that Trade.

Upon the whole it appears to me, That *Free Ports* would only be an Improvement for Foreigners in their Trade, without the leaſt Advantage to us, not ſo much as the Increaſing the Revenue, as it doth where there is a General Exciſe; which I think is an Inſeparable Companion of *Free Ports*, and they of Countreys that cannot of themſelves make a Trade.

I preſume none believes the *Dutch* to be properly *Free Ports*; or if they were, Can they be a Preſident for us? Greateſt part of their Conſumption being in *Germany* and *Flanders*, *&c.* which is within themſelves, and no other Nation can interfere with them.

I have done with *Free Ports*, and ſhall come in the next Chapter to that which I think the Intereſt of the Nation, to Eſtabliſh in room of them.

Of Exports of Foreign Importations.

HAving ſaid ſo much againſt *Free Ports*, which is with good reaſon, accounted to be the only way thoſe Countreys have to make a Trade that want Funds, Men, and Ships of their own.

I now

I now come to that which I conceive may ſupply the want of *Free Ports* in theſe Kingdoms; and that is, Liberty for Exports of ſuch Commodities as have payd Cuſtoms Inwards: That I call Liberty, is to have all the Duty repay'd upon ſuch Exports.

This at firſt ſight may be thought making the whole Kingdom a *Free Port*, after I have been declaiming againſt having any; I confeſs that I ſhall here propoſe, will do the Work of a *Free Port* for the benefit of our own Trade, but not for thoſe that have too much Advantage of us already.

That then I humbly offer in this matter is, That whereas now there is by Law Repayments of part of Cuſtoms upon Exporting of Commodities that payd Inwards; that for the future, the whole Money payd Inwards be Repayd upon Exporting, without any defalcation upon theſe Tearms following.

1. That no Repayments ſhall be made, but on ſuch Goods as were Imported in *Engliſh* Ships and Men.

2. That no Repayments be made, but on ſuch Goods as ſhall be Exported by *Engliſh* Ships and Men.

3. That no Repayments be made, but on ſuch Goods that have been more than Twelve Moneths landed

4. That no Repayments be made on any Goods damnified, or decayed. With theſe Reſervations, I think it is the Intereſt of the Nation to admit

any Foreigners the ſame Priviledge, ſo that our own Ships have the Carriage in and out.

To this I foreſee the Common Cuſtom-Houſe-Objections, What will become of the Kings Cuſtoms? Merchants will find wayes to make their Exports pay for moſt of their Imports.

To this I Anſwer, No doubt there will be Arts uſed by ſome; but it is as certain, that ways may be laid down to prevent them, and much eaſier on the Exports, than was at firſt upon the Importation: Let that be well looked to, and Frauds upon Exports cannot eaſily be Committed; for the Trick will lye as it doth in ſome Caſes at this time: The Merchant ſaves ſuppoſe one third of his Duty, and then Ships out one third of what he payd Duty for, and by that means payes but half Duty es, two thirds being Sold; and he paying Duty but for one, and to drive this Trade, it may be worth a Merchants while to Import, with deſign at leaſt, one third more than he Intends to ſell in the Kingdom: But though this is an Inconveniency, and may be ſome Prejudice to the Revenue, yet I do not think it is of that Value, as to obſtruct a much greater Advantage to the Publick: But it will be further objected, that to Repay all the Duty payd Inwards upon the Exports, is unreaſonable; ſomething at leaſt to defray the Charge of the Officers ſhould be allow'd, and that is allowed where there is the greateſt Freedom: To this I Anſwer, That the Deſign here is to Incourage our own Navigation, and to retrieve our loſt Trades in *Ruſſia* and the

Sound:

land: To effect which, there may perhaps be more Incouragement than this given. The Parliament upon other occasions have thought fit to give Money to Incourage the Exports of the Kingdom, as that of *Corn*: And though I shall not presume to direct, yet perhaps there may be found necessity to do something of that Nature, to lay hold of Trades we have lost: I have often thought there was the same reason for a Nation to lay out a Stock of Money to Introduce some Trades, as there is for a particular Person; and though that Objection which some make, That Publick Funds are alwayes Imbezled, be true; and that no Private Person will receive any Return for what he pays towards a Publick Benefit; Yet if the Money be Imployed in Manufactoryes, or Navigation, though the Original Money be sunk, yet every Individual Man in the Nation is the better for it, even to the *Cobler* in his Stall. I might Inlarge on the many Advantages these Repayments on Exports would bring to the Nation, but I shall summ them all up in,

1. It will Increase the Customs, if that be a Profit to the Nation in General, which to me is a Question; but however, it is that which is acceptable to the Government; and that a Liberty of Exporting, without any Charge, what Merchants cannot dispose of, will certainly Incourage to greater Imports, than when Men are liable to loose both Goods and Customs, as now they in many Cases are.

2. It will bring a very conſiderable Advance to our Ships and Seamen; and in this there is more than at firſt ſight appears.

By the Act of Navigation, it is wiſely provided, That every Nation might Import into *England* the Commodities of their own Countrey in their own Ships: This Liberty was fair and equal Dealing in matter of Trade; That every Countrey ſhould have the Command of their own Trade, and ſo gave no Offence; nor could we advance our own Navigation by it more, than what each Countrey had not Ships of their own to carry their Commodities; but this Liberty of Foreigners bringing their Commodities to ſeek a Market, and if they do not meet it, may Ship out what they cannot ſell, and have all the Duty Repayd, ſo it be Imported and Exported in *Engliſh* Ships; this will put them upon Imploying our Ships, that ſo they may be Intitled to make our Harbours *Free Ports*, and it will be a very great Incouragement to them in their Trade, and as great to us to have the Carriage there, being more clear and certain Gain by the Navigation part of Trade, than by the Merchantine part of it.

Theſe Bill Repayments upon Exports, will not only ſupply us with all ſorts of Foreign Commodities on eaſie Tearms to compleat Cargoes for the Northern Trades we have now loſt, but alſo be a means to Increaſe the Exports of our Woollen Manufactoryes; of which we ſhall ſend Quantities abroad to places we cannot now, for want of other Commodities, to make up Cargoes for ſeveral Markets.

Upon

Upon the whole, I conceive this Freedom will in all reſpect the Benefit of *Free Ports*, with this advantage of terminating in the Increaſe of our Ships and Seamen.

answer

Of a Counſell of Trade.

THIS hath been the common Theam of Men of all Underſtandings, on which ſo much is ſaid and writ, that it looks like remonſtrating againſt the Government, to print more on that ſubject, ſince there ſeem'd not a tendency towards it: For this reaſon I thought to have paſſed it by, but hearing ſuch a thing is now under Conſideration, and having lately ſeen a Print Preſcribing the *Modus* of a Counſel of Trade, I venture to put my Oar in the Boat, though I cannot keep ſtroak with any I ever yet met in this matter, differing both in the Men and Numbers of a Counſel of Trade.

1. As to the Qualification of the Men that is generally thought proper, ſome there be that would have a Counſel of Trade compos'd of Men of all Qualities in Trade and Manufactoryes, ſuch as was in the Reign of K. *James* the Firſt, that ſat in *Haberdaſhers-Hall*, and were more like a Parliament than Counſel of Trade.

Others there are that are not for ſuch a promiſcuous multitude, but yet would have a great Number of Merchants, as believing them the beſt Judges of Trade, and ſo I think them to be; yet whilſt they are in Trade, not the propereſt Directors of it: Againſt both theſe Qualifica-

tions of Men for compoſing a Counſel of Trade, I ſubmit theſe reaſons:

Firſt, That *Mechanicks* are generally Strangers to any Trades but their own, and conſequently can be no Judges and Adviſers in other Mens.

Secondly, Bringing *Artizans* and *Mechanicks* into a Counſel of Trade would raiſe Diſcontents thorough the Kingdom among them of differing Trades; nothing being more Common than Men of one Trade to Interfere with another: And where any ſuch Complaint ſhall come to the Counſel of Trade, as they being in it, will Incourage them to bring, they will be Judges of their own Complaints; for that many Trades have dependance one upon another, and ſo theſe Men will naturally have Parties, as Intereſt leads them; which they acquainting their Friends and Brethren of in their Reſpective Countreys, will create Diſſentions among *Artizans*, who are good Judges among themſelves in their reſpective Companies of one another in their own Trades, but ſeldom determine Diſputes in other Mens Trades, but with a Club and broken Head: Now as for the foregoing Reaſons, I think Mechanicks not proper for a Counſel of Trade; ſo neither do I believe Merchants in Trade proper; for though they are Superiour to underſtanding and Converſation with the former, yet they are under the ſame Temptations and Difficulties of making Parties, and Interfering with one another in their Trades; and therefore not proper Judges whilſt they are Parties, though they may be the beſt when they are

are not. A Counsel of Trade, if rightly Esta-bliſhed, will be a Member in the Government; and in ſuch the *Venetian* Policy, which ſeems a good Conſtitution, allows none that are Merchants, that hath not been at leaſt Seven Years out of all Trade and Commerce: I have been Educated a Merchant, and therefore cannot be thought to leſſen the Profeſſion, though I believe no Man in the Actual Part and Converſe of Trade can be equal and different in the Determination of Controverted Matters in Traffick: I have often had the like Reflections on our Publick Juſtice, in which, at this time, I believe we are the moſt happy People in the World, with Great and Juſt Men on the Bench; yet there hath been times when they were fill'd with Men that ſmelt too much of Barr; might it not then add to the Honour of that Robe, if there was another ſtep beſides that from the Bar to the Bench? But this is not my Province: I return to the Second Conſideration, that of the Number in which moſt agree; one of a County, and one of every City in the Kingdom; beſides ſome of the Miniſtry: This would be a huddle in my Opinion of no ſignification, unleſs they had Competent Salaryes: For Men would not looſe their time, and ſpend their Money for nothing; and the Charge would be too great for the King to pay without a Fund given by Parliament, ſo then I apprehend this large Committee is lodged here.

It may now be expected that I ſhould propoſe, and that I think a better part than Controverſies, though as I alwayes uſe them where there is leaſt offence;

offence; for I do not pretend to more than giving my Opinion to be determined by better Judgments, and ſo I ſhall offer my Thoughts, how a Counſel of Trade may be Eſtabliſhed for the benefit of the Nation.

The Number not to exceed Nine; of which Three to be ſuch as haue been bread Merchants formerly, and of the moſt Univerſal Trades uſed in theſe Kingdoms, and the reſt of the Counſel to be compos'd of the Miniſtry, Admiralty, and Cuſtoms; the whole Counſel to ſit three times a Week, and three of them every day, to Receive, Examine, and Prepare Matters for the General Meeting.

And becauſe no Man will ſpend his time for nothing; and time ſo diſpos'd, is generally valued as nothing; that therefore ſuch Sallaryes be given them, as may pay for their whole time, and give a Reputation to the Commiſſion equal to the Great work to be done by it; for ſo it is, if it be rightly underſtood; it is a wonder that in a Kingdom ſo Fruitful in Offices, that which payes them all (as Trade doth) ſhould be allowed none; but it is an untoward Reaſon that is given for it, which therefore I omit; and ſhall only ſay that by ſuch Men ſet apart for the Care of Trade. *France* and *Sweedland* have to a Wonder Inlarged their Trade and Navigation; and it is apparent, that for want of ſuch a Counſel, we have loſt great part of ours.

The ſeveral Parts, Uſes, and Manage, I ſhall at large ſet forth in the Second Part.

Of

Of Prohibiting Foreign Commodities.

IT is the Policy of all Civilized and Trading Countreys to make ſuch Goods counterband as are thought Unneceſſary and Expenſive to the Inhabitants, or hinder their own Manufactories or Native Growth; but in doing this, they ſometimes bring a worſe Miſchief on themſelves than that they deſign to remove; for as ſoon as a Government find any of their Growth or Manufactory Prohibited by any other, they return it with laying a greater Duty or Prohibition on ſome Commodity that Countrey ſupplyed them with before.

To prevent this, Conſideration ſhould be firſt had of all their Exports to that Countrey they Intend any Prohibition againſt; and if they find that Countrey can any other wayes be ſupply'd with the ſame Commodities they us'd to ſend them, then they ſhould forbear any Prohibition, becauſe it is more prejudicial to leſſen their own Product and Labour, than to Conſume that of their Neighbours; for that time may abate, but the loſs of their own Trade and Manufactoryes may never be recovered, if the place that us'd them be either fallen into a Trade with another People for that Commodity, or the want of them brings them out of uſe; and they are never retrieved: I think therefore, Prohibition ought never to be made, but on ſome extraordinary occaſion, or where there cannot be the like done

to

to them: I will Inſtance but one for all in this Kingdom, and that is *Flanders-Lace*; though this Prohibition be of Abſolute Neceſſity, becauſe of of the great Value this Kingdom ſpends in that Commodity; yet if a due Eſtimate was made of what this Extravagancy carryes out of the Kingdom, it would appear, that the Prohibition is the Original and Preſent Cauſe of our Exceſs in that Commodity: There is indeed another accidental help to it, and that is our Army in *Flanders*, the continual Paſſing and Repaſſing of our Men gives opportunity of ſmugling the Duty, and they alſo coming over with the Faſhion about their Necks, our Apiſh Humours ſoon follows it; but yet the Prohibition is that which firſt Eſtabliſhed the Faſhion among onr *Boas* and *Boaſſes*; for it is not Perſons of the firſt Magnitude, as in former Ages that now Introduce a Faſhion, but ſuch who carry their Fortunes about them, and are alwayes in the midſt of their Eſtates, theſe have no wayes to diſtinguiſh themſelves, but by deſpiſing our own Manufactory, and the Naſty Dreſs, as they term it, of a Countrey Lady or a Citizen; though the latter is too apt to follow them in Expence; and becauſe they can better pay for Extravagancies, therefore they believe themſelves equally Intituled to them: And thus the Vanity runs round to the great Loſs of the Nation.

Now that which to me ſeems the moſt Effectual way to Prohibit a Commodity that the Nation finds ſo Injurious, as to make a Law againſt, as in this of *Flanders-Lace*, or any other: For I name that Commodity, becauſe it ſtands moſt in the

the way: I ſay then, to make that, or any other Prohibition effectual, would be, to lay an Impoſition on any that uſes them: If that were done, the Miſchief would be at an end. But to make it forfeiture of them, to bring them, or placing a high Duty, which ſome think the beſt Expedient, is all Allurements, and Perſwaſive to thoſe whoſe Vanity, and (in ſome caſes) unhappy way of Living, cannot be without them, to Covet and Purchaſe them, becauſe they believe Difficulty, and hazard the Merchant runs in bringing them, will make them too dear for Common Wear: But to this it may be objected, That in many Caſes Prohibitions are made to the end ſome Commodity of our own of the ſame Nature might be uſed; and then the laying a Duty on the Conſumer would be Troubleſome or Impracticable, ſince perchance the Commodities might not be diſtinguiſh'd, as it is in this of *Flanders-Lace*; which cannot be diſtinguiſh'd, but in ſome of the higheſt Prizes.

This Objection muſt be allowed good in ſome caſes, and may be anſwer'd in others; where it is the firſt placing a high Duty upon the Importation, is a better way than an Abſolute Prohibition, but in the latter, where it may be anſwer'd, as in the caſe of *Flanders-Lace*, that the Commodities cannot be diſtinguiſh'd, there appears a difficulty; and that will oblige the Government to ſome other Expedient, and I ſee none, but to conſider whether a Total Aboliſhing the uſe of *Lace* may be enjoyn'd: And here two things are to be inquired into.

1. Whe-

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1. Whe-

1. Whether ſuch a Law might not produce from thoſe abroad ſome ſuch effect on ſome of our Commodities?

2. Whether it will not be Injurious to our ſelves in turning a Number of our own People out of their Trades and way of Living?

To the firſt, that of Provoking our Neighbours, I think it can do us no hurt, becauſe there is no Trade in the World (as I take it) that we uſe, which vends leſs of our Commodities than *Flanders* doth; but ſuch as they cannot be without; ſo that if we did abate the uſe of more of their Product and Manufactoryes, it were but juſt, and the Intereſt of the Nation; nor can they do us more hurt than they do. But to the ſecond Objection,

2. That of hindring our own People, that looks ill; and therefore, as well as I can, ſhall anſwer it; and to that end think it neceſſary to Inquire firſt, into the hands that are Imployed in this Work, and then whether they are capable of any other Imployment that they may get their Living by: For the firſt, Thoſe that make *Lace*, are of the Female Sex, Women and Children; and ſuch I think can turn their hands to another Work that would be profitable to the Nation, and ſave Money from going out; whereas this of making *Lace* is the occaſion of carrying Money out two wayes; one for fine Thread to make it, and the other by Importing *Flanders Lace* of greater Value, and finer then can be made here.

That

That which our People might be imployed in, is ſpinning fine Thread; which may be done, though not the fineſt ſort, yet to Eight Shillings a pound, which would hinder the Importation of many ſorts of Thread to a conſiderable Value in the Year: This I preſume cannot be denied; but then it may be ſaid, this will require time to bring them that are bred up to other Work before they can Earn their Bread; ſo that theſe People muſt be provided for, until they are brought into the Methods of Spinning finer Thread than is now made for Linnen; which in another place I ſhall ſhew is not for the Intereſt of the Nation to promote.

The way then that I conceive Proviſion may be made to maintain theſe People for one year, which will be time ſufficient for their learning to Spin, is to place a ſmall Mulct by the Quarter on all ſuch as wear any ſort of *Thread Lace*, and that there will be enough rais'd on ſuch, to me ſeems reaſonable to believe, becauſe that the Poorer ſort of People that now wear *Lace*, to avoid the Tax, will leave it off; and that will make it look like a Diſcriminating Character of Poverty and Meanneſs in ſuch as formerly wore it, and upon this Tax to leave it off; and thoſe that have *Points* and *Lace* of Value, will not for a ſmall matter throw them away, as they muſt do, if they wear them not; for that Year there will be Liberty: But ſuppoſing, which there ſeems no reaſon to believe, that there ſhould be no Money rais'd this way, is there not as much reaſon to find out ſome other way on the Exciſe

or

or Customs for one Year, as there is for Incouragement of the Exports of Corn? The *French* King payes Money to Incourage the Exports of Provisions, and some other things; and there seems as much reason for this, which hath a greater prospect of Improvement, than what he aims at in Exports of Provisions, which is neither proper, nor possible for this Kingdom to do, whilst *Ireland* is above Water; nor if he had all that Export which *Ireland* had in the best Condition of that Countrey, which was in the Reign of *Charles* the Second, would it amount to that Yearly Value as our Vanity of *Lace* amounts to in the Imports from *Flanders*?

It is not possible to give a certain Estimate of it, because it comes not through the Custom-House; nor can there be a near Estimate by the Quantities Sold, since there is such Numbers that bring it from *Flanders* and *Holland*; not a Ship, or scarce a Man, but brings over some in his Pocket, or about his Neck; and there are those that tell us of some Thousands in the Year, that do thus: But giving all this into the account, I will only mention what I have pick't up from Observations made in *Yarmouth*, *Hull*, *Newcastle*, and *London*: In *Yarmouth* it is said there are Five Persons that get near a Thousand Pounds a Year apiece by what they Import and send to *Norwich*; from *Hull* as much; at *Newcastle* more: In *London* it is said, one Man hath in few Years got Forty Thousand Pounds; and above Eight more that altogether get twice his Sum; all these they make up at a Moderate Computation

Forty

Forty Thouſand Pounds *per Annum*; that is, ſo much got by what they Import, allowing the Total to ariſe by Twenty *per Cent.* gain, which is an Extravagant Profit, when Merchants deal for Five *per Cent.* Profit in other Commodities; but allowing at Twenty, the Import is Two Hundred Thouſand Pounds *per Annum*, beſides ſmaller Men and Paſſengers, which is believed to be as much: This is a Computation at random, yet with as much probability as it can bear; and in the whole, cannot be leſs than Four Hundred Thouſand Pounds *per Annum*; they that ſee our Churches, where perchance there may be of Men, Women, and Children, Five Hundred in a Church, that have leſs or more of this Finery about them, will not think Four Hundred Thouſand Pounds worth more than is wore in this Kingdom in a Day: Now though this be a gueſs, yet what I bring againſt it in the Exports of Proviſions from *Ireland* is a certainty from Account of the Entries at the Cuſtom-Houſe; and there was never Shipped out in one Year to the Value of Three Hundred Thouſand Pound *Sterling*: I mention this, to ſhew how little we conſider the Intereſt and Trade of the Nation, and how miſtaken in our Account when we quarrel at a part of our ſelves, for ſo we ought to make it, for living on their Product; and at the ſame time ſee not a far greater Value than all that poor Countrey produceth, carried away in *Specie* from us by Foreigners, ſo is this Commodity purchas'd, or with Bills of Exchange, which is the ſame thing, and ſo allowed by all that underſtnad Trade.

I have

I have been the longer on this Commodity, because I name it for all that come under the head of Prohibitions; which I think not to be sufficiently consider'd or understood, were it so, but in this one triffle; it deserves no better a Name, if relation be had to the use of it: There is plain demonstration, that what with the turn of our hands to a Commodity, as we now Purchase with Money from abroad, and with the preventing the Imports of Lace, the whole would add more than Six Hundred Thousand Pounds *per Annum* to the Treasure of the Nation; and this might in my humble Opinion be easier done, than regulating the *East-India-Company*: I will not make comparisons as to the Gain, but wish I knew any one Trade, though that of the Foreign Plantations were one, that brings in Six Hundred Thousand Pounds *Sterling* clear Gain to the Nation, as this might do, if the Old Proverb be allowed, that a Penny sav'd, is a Penny got.

But that I might not lye under a Vulgar censure in this matter, though I take it to be as much an Error (that Extravagancies in Cloaths is an Advantage to the Artizans, Manufactoryes, and Poor of the Nation) what is here propos'd doth not bar the Gayety and Expence of such as delight in fine Cloaths, for that there may be other Inventions found out for Ornament as Costly as *Lace*; I remember when Band-strings were come to such Curiosity in Work, that they were wore from Five Shillings to Five Pound a Pair, and made in *England*; and have my self, when I could not write Man, had Ribbons to one Suit to more

than

that Fifteen Pounds Value: If theſe Extravagancies muſt be uſed, were it not better to have them of our own Fabrick, than from them that eat not our Bread, nor wear our Wooll, though they work too much of it?

I have done on this head, when I ſay, That as the Wiſdom of the Nation makes Laws of Prohibition, I wiſh there was effectual means to have them obſerv'd.

Of Sumptuary Lawes.

I Think Laws to Reſtrain Exceſs in Apparel and Food, may properly be brought into a Treatiſe of Trade; and that *Sumptuary Lawes* are, or ſhould be, a Guide in it.

That before I Engage in this Matter, there is a Receiv'd Opinion to be removed; and that is, that Expence of the Labour and Product of a Countrey, is the ſupport of the Artizans, and brings Riches to Men of Real Eſtates: If this was in Truth ſo, then there is not only an end of *Sumptuary Lawes*, but ſome other Statutes and Cuſtoms that yet hinder Abuſes, which perchance might otherwiſe grow amongſt us as Artizans and Tradeſmen wearing Swords, that would Increaſe that Manufactory; yet in well-Governed Places, the Juſtices and Magiſtrates of Towns would bind to the good behaviour ſuch as did, if Servants and Apprentices were allowed

playing at Cards and Dice, it would occaſion the Conſumption of great Quantities, and ſo Inlarge thoſe Manufactories; yet the Laws and Cuſtom of the Nation Prohibits it; and it is a Covenant in the Indentures of Apprentices to this day, that they Forfeit their Indentures, if they do uſe them in Play.

If then there be reaſon for theſe ſmaller Expences, there ſeems reaſon for Care in greater.

How the Old *Sumptuary Laws* of the Nation comes to be out of uſe, I could never underſtand; nor can I think that it is that, becauſe they were found Injurious to our Tradeſmen and Manufactoryes, but rather the Vanity and Levity of the Nation in following the Modes of *France*; which taking firſt in our Courts, deſcended to Lower Ranks of People; and Merchants and Tradeſmen making a Gain by Curioſities in Apparel, that ſoon begat a Party to ſupport them, until the Livelyhood of Numbers depended on the Manufactoryes of them: And that brings me to Inquire into the Opinion, that it is a benefit of the Nation to be Expenſive in Diet and Apparel.

The Reaſon that is given for it is, becauſe it Imploys the Poor, and ſupports the Farmer to pay greater Rents.

To this I Anſwer,

Firſt, That whatever Artizans and Farmers get by Conſumption in the Kingdom, is no profit to the Nation.

No

No Private Gentleman is accounted Rich, if he ſpends all his Rents in Cloaths and Houſe-keeping, though it be all layd out among his own Tenants; but he is accounted Rich, in that he ſaves over above his Expence: And it holds ſo in a Kingdom, the Riches of a Countrey is accounted and made out of nothing, but their Exports that is common to every Underſtanding, and needs no Explanation; and being allowed, what a Miſerable People ſhould we be, if we ſupported the Common People by our home Conſumption; It would terminate in paying Rents, as they do in *Scotland*, in kind, that is, as they call it, Victual, Corn, *&c.* For if we ſpend all in the Countrey, we ſhall have no Exports, and conſequently no Money.

2. What is ſpent in the Kingdom leſſens the Gain of the Artizan and Country-Man, for that Exports would raiſe the Price of our Native Commodities, by Increaſing Chapmen, and bringing Strangers and Trade into the Kingdom.

We need not go farther than the *Iſle of Man* for Demonſtration; Perchance thoſe People Eat and Drink better, Wear as Warm and Decent Cloths as our Yeomen in *Kent*, and yet One Thouſand of them make not ſo great a Purſe as One of our Yeomen before-mentioned; and the reaſon is, becauſe they live upon their own Product.

If what is here ſaid be ſufficient to prove that the Nation is no Gainer by what is ſpent, if we then come to that of *Sumptuary Laws*, how the

playing at Cards and Dice, it would occaſion the Conſumption of great Quantities, and ſo Inlarge thoſe Manufactories; yet the Laws and Cuſtom of the Nation Prohibits it; and it is a Covenant in the Indentures of Apprentices to this day, that they Forfeit their Indentures, if they do uſe them in Play.

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obſervance of them would Increaſe the Trade and Treaſure of the Nation.

I begin with that of Apparel, and that I muſt crave leave to differ with a Fam'd Authour, *Montaigne*; who gave his Opinion on this Subject, that it would be for the Profit of the Kingdom, and take off all from Wearing Rich Cloaths, if the King and Court did not wear ſuch; though no doubt it would have that effect of taking off the People from Sumptuous Cloaths, if the Court wore plain, and ſo far do good as it reached the Common People; yet it would have an ill conſequence where it effected the Court and Nobility, for that their Expence is a Gain to the Nation, and Incouragement to Induſtry: Not that I think it imploys the Poor more than they would be, if they worked for Exportation; but that I conceive in this matter, is that Frugality in the Court and Nobility, would bring all the Money of the Nation into their Coffers; for they ſeldom Trade; and ſo there would want Running Caſh to drive the Trade of the Nation, and then there would need no Laws to reſtrain the middle People in their Cloths, for they would ſoon come to Raggs: I think it therefore diſtructive to the Nation for Men of great Eſtates to be Parcimonious, as I do for others to be Extravagant. *Montaigne* writ his Opinion as a Lord, and I as a Commoner: If Lords lived as Commoners, Commoners would never be Lords: And perhaps if there was no room for Ambition, there might not be ſo much Induſtry.

Having

Having paſt the Throne, and ſuch as attend it, among which I account Gentlemen of Real Eſtates, I come to thoſe which I think *Sumptuary Laws* ſhould reach, and they are Merchants, Artizans and Countrey-Men. I leave out Divines and Lawyers; the firſt lye under no Temptation, the latter I hope they will pardon me, if I ſay it is the beſt return they could make to diſperſe their great Gains among the Poor. But to return to thoſe, I think properly under *Sumptuary Laws*, Merchants, Tradeſmen, *&c.* And for them there ſeems a double reaſon, one becauſe they know how to Imploy their Money in Trade and Manufactoryes; and therefore ſhould as much as is practicable, be kept from waſting their Stock on unneceſſary Expences; for that their Stock is the Seed Corn of Trade; and all Men are careful that they want not Seed for their Ground, becauſe it is common, therefore not regarded; but it is certainly true, that the endleſs Expence of our Artizans and Poor is the Greateſt Cauſe of the Decay of our Manufactoryes: There is a Train of Miſchiefs that attend one another in the Exceſs of People that depend on Labour; Twenty Shillings may find Materials to keep a Family a Moneth at Work; and the want of it not only hinders them, but puts them upon farther Expence, and perhaps Gaming or Debauchery.

Shop-keepers arrive to a higher Exceſs before it Effects them, but yet they are often dip'd before they ſee their Danger; and ſo it is with Merchants that are a Degree above them, uſually ſo in every reſpect, by means of their Education

observance of them would Increase the Trade and Treasure of the Nation.

I begin with that of Apparel, and that I must crave leave to differ with a Fam'd Authour, *Montaigne*; who gave his Opinion on this Subject, that it would be for the Profit of the Kingdom, and take off all from Wearing Rich Cloaths, if the King and Court did not wear such; though no doubt it would have that effect of taking off the People from Sumptuous Cloaths, if the Court wore plain, and so far do good as it reached the Common People; yet it would have an ill consequence where it effected the Court and Nobility, for that their Expence is a Gain to the Nation, and Incouragement to Industry: Not that I think it imploys the Poor more than they would be, if they worked for Exportation; but that I conceive in this matter, is that Frugality in the Court and Nobility, would bring all the Money of the Nation into their Coffers; for they seldom Trade; and so there would want Running Cash to drive the Trade of the Nation, and then there would need no Laws to restrain the middle People in their Cloths, for they would soon come to Raggs: I think it therefore distructive to the Nation for Men of great Estates to be Parcimonious, as I do for others to be Extravagant. *Montaigne* writ his Opinion as a Lord, and I as a Commoner: If Lords lived as Commoners, Commoners would never be Lords: And perhaps if there was no room for Ambition, there might not be so much Industry.

Having

Having paſt the Throne, and ſuch as attend it, among which I account Gentlemen of Real Eſtates, I come to thoſe which I think *Sumptuary Laws* ſhould reach, and they are Merchants, Artizans and Countrey-Men. I leave out Divines and Lawyers; the firſt lye under no Temptation, the latter I hope they will pardon me, if I ſay it is the beſt return they could make to diſperſe their great Gains among the Poor. But to return to thoſe, I think properly under *Sumptuary Laws*, Merchants, Tradeſmen, *&c.* And for them there ſeems a double reaſon, one becauſe they know how to Imploy their Money in Trade and Manufactoryes; and therefore ſhould as much as is practicable, be kept from waſting their Stock on unneceſſary Expences; for that their Stock is the Seed Corn of Trade; and all Men are careful that they want not Seed for their Ground, becauſe it is common, therefore not regarded; but it is certainly true, that the endleſs Expence of our Artizans and Poor is the Greateſt Cauſe of the Decay of our Manufactoryes: There is a Train of Miſchiefs that attend one another in the Exceſs of People that depend on Labour; Twenty Shillings may find Materials to keep a Family a Moneth at Work; and the want of it not only hinders them, but puts them upon farther Expence, and perhaps Gaming or Debauchery.

Shop-keepers arrive to a higher Exceſs before it Effects them, but yet they are often dip'd before they ſee their Danger; and ſo it is with Merchants that are a Degree above them, uſually ſo in every reſpect, by means of their Education

and Converſe; yet theſe Men are oftner undone by an Inſenſible way of Expence, than by Loſſes at Sea; no Men know how to live better than they; I mean, that we call fine Eating, and good Equipage; and there are thoſe among our Merchants can afford it; but then it is ſuch as are come into Eſtates that were not got by Men that underſtood fine Living.

I have often reflected on the Gain of Countrey-Farmers that may have a Free-hold of Forty or Fifty Pounds *per Annum*: Theſe Men we ſee, out of their ſmall Income, with their Induſtry in Rural Matters, ſhall be able to give good Portions to their Children, have Money alwayes at Command; when a Merchant of Ten times his Fund and Appearance of Gain ſhall hardly be able to keep afloat; and for this I can aſſign no Cauſe but the difference in Expence; and yet the Merchant not accounted Extravagant; but the difference lyes in this, The Cuſtom of the Countrey where the Countrey-Man lives is to wear plain warm Cloaths; his Wife perhaps with good Searge, himſelf with Kerſey; Twice or Thrice a Weak the Pot boyls, and the Spit us'd on Sundays.

The *Merchant* he lives in a City, where Rich Cloaths, Lace, *&c.* is Common Wear, and a Sett Table every day, and to be but in the common Road with his Neighbours, he ſpends Five times as much as the Countrey-man; this at a moderate Computation amounts to a great Sum in Twenty or Thirty Years. I might Inlarge on this Subject, but I ſubmit to better Underſtandings

dings what I have ſaid; and my Opinion that *Sumptuary Laws* duely Executed would Inrich and Strengthen theſe Kingdoms: We ſee it doth ſo among our Neighbours, the *Dutch* and *Hamburgers*; where you ſeldom hear of a middle ſort of Dealer, and perhaps never of a Handicraft Man to fail: It is certain they ſell for leſs Profit than we do; that they looſe more in proportion at Sea than we do, occaſioned by the under-Manning their Ships: Yet notwithſtanding theſe diſadvantages, their Merchants, and all ſorts of Tradeſmen are much Richer than ours; for which no reaſon can be given, but their Frugal Living, which to me is an undeniable Confutation of the Opinion, that the larger our Expence in Cloaths and Food is, the better our Artizans and Poor are maintained.

The true way for Increaſing the Riches of the Nation in General, and the Artizan in Particular, is to Imploy them in Commodities Exported, not conſumed in the Kingdom.

If what I have ſaid gain any Acceptation, the *Modus* for putting ſomething in Practice like *Sumptuary-Laws* may be admitted, and it ſhall be in few words.

Firſt, Negatively, I do not think making Laws to Prohibit or Limit any ſort of People in their Diet or Apparel practicable, it would ſet the Nation in a Ferment, and Heralds muſt become Judges of others Food and Rayment; as Lawyers are of their Freeholds and Properties: Thoſe were happy times, when pulling off a Shoe was a good Conveyance, and a Prince was his own

Caterour, His Lady the Cook: We have an Infallible Authour for it. But to return the Method for bringing what hath been diſcours'd on this Head into Practice, I conceive may be to lay a Mulct by the Quarter on all Perſons that are Artizans, Handicrafts-Men, Farmers, Victuallers, Inn Keepers, that ſhall wear any Silk, Gold, or Silver: This would reſtrain the Extravagancy of ſuch as Expence doth moſt hurt unto; and be a means to Enable them to Enlarge their Trades and Manufactoryes: As I have ſaid before, their Money is the Seed of Trade; and if we ſuppoſe there may be but Five Hundred Thouſand ſuch Families in the Kingdom, and that by Frugal Living they may lay up but Forty Shillings a Year of their needleſs Expence in Cloaths, it would put a Million a Year more in the Trade and Manufactory of the Nation; which beſides other Advantages, in Humane Probability might ſave Pariſhes from the Charge of many Poor: But of that the next Chapter will Treat.

Of

Of Working-Schools *and* Hoſpitals.

THere ſeems nothing that would be a more Univerſal Good, than a Proviſion for the Infant Poor of the Nation; whoſe Misfortunes ſeems not greater in their Being, than in the Proviſion that is made for them by the Pariſhes where they were born. The common Practice in the diſpoſe of them, is to pay a Poor Woman by the Year for keeping a Child; and as ſoon, or before they are capable of the meaneſt Service, they are turn'd off, and ſeldom put to a Trade; by which means, as their Entrance into the World is a Charge to the Pariſh, ſo is their going out in Old Age, if they come not to a worſe end; it being obſerved that moſt of the Pilfering and Vagrant People that fill the Streets, are ſuch that are not bred to Trades in their Youth: This Evil, like Original Sin, comes into the World with theſe Miſerable People: I mean, when they are ſent out of the Pariſh, without Education, in a habit of Idleneſs, which produceth every day worſe Converſation, and leſs Shame.

And if from theſe Slips comes the greateſt part of the moſt Unfortunate Poor, (ſuch I mean as come to untimely ends;) may not this then deſerve the Conſideration of the moſt Pious and Politique Heads in the Nation? It is ſtrange to ſee how provident we are to keep off little troubles when they are near, and how careleſs we are of greater Miſchiefs if they be at a diſtance; We hunt

hunt a Strange Beggar out of our Pariſhes; and if in time of Scarcity Numbers come into a City from the Country, A Common-Council is call'd, and their Grave Wiſdom ſet at Work, how to get rid of their New Comers; and yet at the ſame time, perhaps, that very City is breeding up a greater Number of Poor Children than they hunt out, to Act the ſame part in the Common-Wealth; that is, of Stealing, Begging, and Idleneſs, as Mankind Naturally would do, if Education Improved not Nature. The worſt of Men would keep, if they could, that part of Primitive Innocence, Eating without Labour; and are True Believers of that part in Divine Writ, That it is a Curſe to eat their Bred by the Sweat of their Brow: There needs no other Evidence of this Truth, than that of the *Old Bayly*, where Numbers are every Seſſions of both Sexes made Victims for the Sins of the Pariſh where they were Born: Had they been bred up in Trades, they might probably not come to Untimely Ends. There is no Nation I ever read of, who by a Compulſary Law, raiſeth ſo much Money for the Poor as *England* doth: That of *Holland* is Voluntary, and turns to a Revenue to the Common-Wealth, as they manage it; but our Charity is become a Nuſance, and may be thought the greateſt Miſtake of that Bleſſed Reign, in which that Law paſſed, which is the Idle and Improvident Mans Charter; for if Shame or Fear of Puniſhment makes him Earn his Dayly Bread, he will do no more; his Children are the Charge of the Pariſh, and his

Old

Old Age his Receſs from Labour or Care; he makes no Proviſion for it in the time of his Youth and Strength, becauſe he hath better Security for his Maintenance than Money of his own Laying up: But of this ſort of Poor, I deſign a Diſcourſe in the Second Part of Eſſayes on Trade, *&c.* I am now on that of Infant-Poor; and beſides, that of the Pariſh there is another Proviſion; which for as much as it takes up, makes a fine Shew; but yet in my Opinion that Charity might be better diſpoſed, than to keep Children till they are Thirteen or Fourteen Years of Age without any Labour; and then often taken away by Gentlemen, that perhaps keep them to wait on them; or ſome other Imployment that is more proper for one that hath been by Misfortune fallen from a Competency, and is too far grown to beg in a Manual Education: For this reaſon I think there ſhould not be one taken out of an Hoſpital, but to ſome Mechanick Art, or Navigation. I know there are ſome that tell us, It is pity, where an Ingenious Boy ſhall be found, but that he ſhould be advanced according to his Genious in Learning. If our Nation did want ſuch Men, there might be ſome pretence for this Opinion, though perhaps I ſhould be ſtill againſt it; But when we ſee ſuch Exceſs of Studients, that there is not Preferment for them; we have not to the Degree of Clerks for ſome, that perhaps, if they had according to their Learning and Parts might deſerve Preferment in Church and State; but the Stock is too many for the Paſture, and that brings

brings many Young Gentlemen to Misfortune, who have been well Educated, That being all their Fathers could give them; and being born Gentlemen, not ſo agreeable to ſet to Mechanical Labour, as it is for the moſt Ingenious Boy an *Hoſpital* can produce, his Original muſt be derived from thence: And ſo a Handicraft Trade cannot be too mean for him; and if he be of Extraordinary Underſtanding, let him lay it out in Curious Arts and Manufactoryes; ſuch would be of more uſe to the Nation; and of ſuch we cannot have too many: And if there were the ſame Conduct in the Great Community of a Nation, as there is in Private Families: (And I ſee no reaſon why there may not) there would not be ſo many Thouſands in this Kingdom ſent out of their Hives without a Sting, and ſo become Drones, Living on the Labour of the Induſtrious *Bee*, ſo I think them that are not bred up in ſome Imployment. Now to make a laſting Reformation in this thing, I conceive it muſt be to begin at the Root; Manure and Improve the firſt Sprouts as they come into the World: And that brings me to a Propoſition that was brought to ſome of the greateſt Miniſters in Church and State, where it met with ſo good a Reception, that ſome of them were pleaſed to ſay, That though they had for ſeveral Years been labouring for ſuch a thing, and had made ſome Progreſs in it, yet they could never frame a Scheme, but there was ſome objection to it; but in this they ſaw none; and therefore Reſolved upon the Kings

Return

Return from *Flanders*, to lay it before His Majeſty. The Late Arch-Biſhop of *Canterbury* few Dayes before his Death expreſſed his Earneſt Deſires and Intentions to promote ſo good a Work, as he was pleaſed to call it, and ſaid, he would looſe no time, for fear it might be loſt, if he that was Maſter of it ſhould die before it was Eſtabliſhed; there being ſome things reſerved by the Propoſer, until he had Aſſurance of His Majeſties Approbation. As far as I have Liberty to make it Publick, I ſhall ſhall here ſet down the Propoſition; That ſo if better Heads can Correct or Improve it, the Nation may have the Advantage, by Inlarging a thing which may be of ſo Publick a Benefit.

The Propoſition was as followeth,

That a Charter be Granted to ſuch as ſhall be willing to Erect Hoſpitals *and* Working-Schools *through the Kingdom for Poor Children, on the Terms following.*

1. That they ſhall be obliged to Receive from all the Pariſhes in *England*, if the Pariſh think fit, ſuch Children as they have at the Charge of the Pariſh: The Pariſh paying Ten Pound, and ſending them with Two Suits of Cloaths.

2. The *Schools* and *Hoſpitals* taking them in at Seven Years of Age, and to teach them to Read and Write; and Imploy them chiefly in the Linnen Manufactory and Cordage; The Boys

to

to be discharg'd at the Years of Twenty One, and the Girls at Eighteen; by which time they may be made perfect in the Art of Spinning and Weaving Linnen; neither of which are improved to the height in this Nation.

3. That forasmuch as it is hoped many Charitable and Well-disposed People will Extend their Bounty to the Poor this way; if they might set out a Poor Child, so as it may be put in a good way of Subsistance for its whole Life.

4. That these *Hospitals* and *Schools* be obliged to take in from all Persons, Children upon Reasonable Tearms.

And forasmuch as it may be of a more Universal Benefit to the Kingdom to leave a Latitude to the Governours of these Working Schools, to breed up such of the Boys as shall have a Genius to any other Mechanical Art, that then they may be so Instructed.

And also for the better Incouragement of Youth, and such as may be the Children of Parents, by Misfortune brought to Decay, that they may be so at the Liberty of the Governours to dispose of, as shall be found capable, and desir'd by Merchants, Navigators, or others, to take Apprentice, and breed them up in some Trade, so that it be for their Preferment, and at the Desire of the Youth.

5. That

5. That who'ere ſhall be put out to Apprentice, ſhall notwithſtanding Receive the Sum paid with them, when he comes to Age of Twenty One Years, provided he faithfully ſerves his Time.

6. That there be a Liberty for the Governours, *&c.* to receive the Charity of all ſuch as ſhall at any time Give, or Bequeath Money or Land to this Good Work.

7. That they may have Power to Purchaſe Lands in every County of *England* and *Wales*, which may be a Fund for Payment of the Sum that was payd in with each Child to ſuch as behave themſelves well, and go out at the Years before-mentioned.

8. That theſe *Schools* ſhall be alwayes Free from any Tax, either for their Land or Stock that muſt be Imployed in the Work.

9. That there be in each *Hoſpital* a Miniſter to Inſtruct the Children, and Officiate in Eccleſiaſtical Affairs.

10. That for the better Government of theſe *Hoſpitals*, and to the Intent that the Work propoſed be duely purſu'd, That all Biſhops and Peers, and Members of the Houſe of Commons in their Reſpective Countys for the time being, and ſo for ever, ſucceed Viſitors of thoſe *Hoſpitals*;

Hoſpitals; and that they may have Power upon juſt Complaint to Remove and Diſplace any Inferiour Officer or Overſeers that ſhall misbehave themſelves.

11. To Compleat the whole Deſign, and make theſe *Hoſpitals* and *Schools* the greateſt Work of Charity and Univerſal Good that ever was beſtowed on this Nation, is to Eſtabliſh a Fund for Stock and Portions of ſuch as go out of theſe *Hoſpitals*; that is, to pay as much as is paid in with the Child, and that they ſhall be free to ſet up the Linnen Manufactory in any Corporation of the Kingdom.

This will require an Act of Parliament, and the Fund for Portions and Stock may be Rais'd out of that which no one will Refuſe, nor yet ſhall any be obliged to pay.

Reaſons

Reaſons humbly offered for Eſtabliſhing by Charter, Hoſpitals and Working-Schools.

1. THey will eaſe the Nation of a Charge and Burthen: The Charge is upon the Pariſh in breeding up the Children, and the Burthen is having Streets fill'd with Beggars in their Old Age; for ſuch uſually are ſo, that are bred to no Trades in their Youth.

2. Theſe Schools will add to the Nation in their Trade and Manufactories, more than Twenty thouſand Perſons a Year, allowing but Two out of a Pariſh, with ſuch as may be ſuppoſed will be put in by particular perſons, that may think a Child well diſpoſed of, for a ſmall Sum to be taught a Trade, and have a Stock at going out to ſet up with.

They will not only add to the Nation ſo many as come from the Pariſhes, but they will produce another Generation by Marriages: Whereas the Poor bred to no Employment, ſeldom do more than waſte away their Life in a ſingle condition.

3. Theſe Hoſpitals and Schools breeding up Numbers in the Linnen-Manufactory, will invite over Foreigners to ſettle in the ſame Employment; for that it is a Maxim in Trade and Manufactory, *That where there are but few employ'd, they will be found too many; and where there are great numbers, they may be thought too few.*

4. Theſe Hoſpitals and Schools for Linnen will by themſelves and their Increaſe ſettle ſuch a Manufactory of Linnen as will not on-

ly prevent the great Sums of Money that go out of the Nation, but alſo bring in Money for ſeveral ſorts of Linnen; they will ſoon arrive to that Perfection which can never be introduc'd by the Methods now taken.

5. There ſeems not a more certain way for raiſing the Rents of Lands and Houſes, than advancing the Poor, and increaſing of People and Trade; both which will certainly ariſe from theſe Schools and Hoſpitals.

6. Theſe Hoſpitals and Working-Schools will exceed not only all the Charitable Works of this Kingdom, but may be thought above any in *Europe*. Former Charities ſeldom exceed preſent Proviſion for the Poor, and that only to keep them ſo; but by this there will be raiſed of them which are now the Diſeaſe of the Nation, a Uſeful and Induſtrious People: It is reaſonable to believe they will be in their ſpreading forth in the Kingdom, Examples of Sobriety and Induſtry; for that they will be ſtrangers to the common Vices of this Age, and know nothing but what they are bred up to in their Schools.

And that this Great Work may not miſcarry, as Publick Stocks and Manufactories always do,

It is humbly propoſed, That a Charter may be given to ſuch as will undertake ſo good a Work; and that they may have ſuch Encouragement as may give them a Proſpect of Advantage, without which the Undertaking cannot ſucceed; for that it is a mixt Undertaking, a Manufactory and an Hoſpital; the

firſt to ſupport the latter, and that with ſuch Benefit to the Nation as might be wiſh'd, tho at the Purchaſe of a National Fund: But here is nothing deſired for the Maintenance of all the Poor Children of the Nation, for that the Ten Pounds to be paid by the Pariſh will not anſwer the Charge of Building and Furniſhing the Houſes; and that for a Fund to raiſe ſo much apiece when they go out, will not come to any Proportion of what muſt be paid in Fourteen Years. So that in truth the entire Succeſs of this Affair reſts on the Management and Stock of the Undertakers.

Thus far went the Propoſitions and Reaſons for it, which to me appear'd without exception, tho perhaps according to the unhappy humour of this Age ſome may be againſt it; if there appears any Advantage to the Undertakers; which is in my opinion a pernicious Principle, that hath been no ſmall prejudice to our Trade and Manufactories, diſcourages Ingenuity, and hath driven many profitable Inventions out of the Kingdom into other Countries, where they meet with better Entertainment: But of this I ſhall at large diſcourſe in the Second Part, and here only ſay, That I conceive one of the greateſt Miſtakes in our Proviſion for the Poor, is, That they are not put under the Charge of ſome that may be Gainers by their Work.

I never ſaw Publick Undertakings in Labour and Manufactory turn to any Advantage; nor do I ſee any reaſon to expect it,

whilſt it is ſo difficult for Private Undertakers to defend themſelves againſt the Frauds of Artiſans and Labourers in Employments their Maſters are bred in; and if it be ſo where men have both Underſtanding and Self-Intereſt united for their own Advantage, the Succeſs cannot reaſonably be ſo great. Suppoſe Managers ever ſo honeſt, there are ſome Difficulties that Publick Miniſters lye under, which men in their own Concerns are free from; that is, Set Rules and Methods which they muſt obſerve, and by that means loſe ſome Advantages which private men can take or leave, as they find them for their purpoſe. But that which ſeems unanſwerable in this Undertaking, is, That the Propoſition is to breed up Children in Manufactories, ſo as to eaſe the Nation of a Charge, and repleniſh the Countrey with People; and this cannot be done without great Expence of Money, and Induſtry of the Undertakers.

And why they ſhould not have the Benefit of both, ſince it is not at the Publick Charge, none I believe can give a reaſon, but thoſe wiſe men that would have no good done that any man gets by.

Of the New-found-land *Fiſhing.*

THE Name of a Joint-Stock and Company in Trade, is in general terms thought injurious to the ſeveral Intereſts of the Nation, but in ſome Caſes it is allowed by all,

all, That Companies are abſolutely neceſſary; and if in any, it ſeems to be ſo for the Fiſhing of *New-found-land*, which was once the moſt conſiderable Trade and Nurſery for Seamen of this Nation.

How it came to be loſt by us, and taken up by the *French*, is viſible, and chiefly ſince the Reſtoration of *Charles the Second*, in whoſe Reign it was complained of, and Petitions from the *Weſt*-Countrey-men to retrieve it, and ſecure them from the growing Encroachments of the *French*, daily made upon the Fiſhing of this Nation; but no Care was taken, the *French* Intereſt being then prevalent at Court.

The Iſland of *New-found-land* is as much the Right of the Crown, as any Foreign Plantation; nor have the *French* the leaſt pretence to it.

But ſince they have got footing in it, no Private Undertakers are able to conteſt it with them; nor if the Government ſhould diſpoſſeſs them, would Private Undertakers be able to ſecure and maintain the Place and Trade.

The *French* have now Forts there, and ſend ſuch Numbers of Ships Yearly, as is little leſs than a Warlike Effort added to their Trade; and by the Fiſhing they have raiſed their Seamen, and ſo became formidable at Sea, all their other Navigation not employing one fourth of the Seamen their Fiſhing of *New-found-land* and *Canady* doth.

And as the *French* have grown great in their Trade and Navigation by this Fiſhing, ſo hath

England by the Loſs of it abated in both, to the weakning and Poverty of the Nation.

If the Strength and Security of this Nation lies in the Naval Force, it may be thought that which makes and employs Seamen cannot be bought too dear, but deſerves the greateſt Encouragement; and then the Fiſhing of *New-found-land* would be as much conſider'd, and as well preſerved from Foreign Encroachment as our other Plantations, where none are admitted to Trade but the Subjects of *England*.

It cannot be denied, however ſome may apprehend, but the Foreign Plantations add to the Strength and Treaſure of the Nation, even in that of People, which is generally thought our Plantations abroad conſume; but if it were conſidered, That by taking off one uſeleſs perſon, for ſuch generally go abroad, we add Twenty *Blacks* in the Labour and Manufactories of this Nation, that Miſtake would be removed.

But whatever the Advantages of our Foreign Plantations are to *England*, this of *New-found-land* Fiſhing will be much more, for that by it there will be Riches gain'd out of the Sea, without the Expence of any Foreign Commodities; but it is not ſo in the Foreign Plantations.

By this Fiſhing there will be no perſon, only ſome few to keep the Forts, taken out of the Kingdom; nor any fed or cloathed with the Product of other Parts, but all they conſume will be of the Growth and Manufactory of the Nation.

And

And this Fiſhing of *New-found-land* will be ſupported entirely with the Product of the Nation, which no other Trade is; ſo will the Product of this Fiſhing bring in more Bullion than any other Trade can: Whereas the Product of our Foreign Plantations is greateſt part conſumed in the Kingdom, and that adds nothing to the Riches of the Nation.

And that which is not the leaſt conſiderable in this Undertaking, is, That whereas in all our other Plantations abroad our men are employed in labour on ſhore, and ſo of no uſe in time of Naval War, this Plantation of *New-found-land* will be all Seamen, and moſt of them at home once a year, and may ſoon be to the Number of 10000 Men; which may be thought a greater Strength to the Nation than a Land-Army of thrice the number; with this advantage, that Seamen are always readier for Service, and yet of no Charge to the Government until they are in it.

And to ſum up all in that which is the Security as well as Treaſure of *England*, by this Fiſhing there may be added Thirty Sail of Men of War always ready for the Service of the Nation.

It may perhaps be expected, That after telling what mighty things may be done by this Fiſhing, I ſhould lay down a Scheme how it may be made practicable: But as what I have here ſaid is no more than Hints, on which better Heads may enlarge, ſo I muſt own my want of Aſſurance to preſcribe Rules and Methods for ſo great an Undertaking, eſpe-

cially at a Time when the Supreme Council of the Nation are ſitting, before whom I lay theſe *Eſſays*, as Suppliants do their Petitions, to be conſider'd of. In that nature I ſhall alſo further ſubmit ſome Particulars, which I humbly conceive neceſſary for the Eſtabliſhing this Fiſhery.

I conceive that out of the National Bank before propos'd, muſt ariſe a Fund for this Undertaking, and ſuch as to Build and Purchaſe a Hundred Sail of Ships, from 100 to 300 Tun, and to carry Guns according to their Burthen, for every Ten Tun a Gun.

That there be at the Company's Charge Ten Third Rates, Ten Fourth Rates, Five Fifth Rates, and Five Sixth Rates, Mann'd and Gunn'd as Ships of War. The Uſe of theſe Ships, and Charge of maintaining them to the Advantage of the Company, ſhall be made out, if demanded.

That tho theſe Ships ſhall be built by *Engliſh* Carpenters, yet not by *Engliſh* Timber; it being too evident that there will be want of that for the Navy.

That there be Forts and Plantations eſtabliſhed in *New-found-land*, for Defence and Security of the Place.

That no *Spaniſh* or *French* Salt be uſed in ſaving their Fiſh, there being a way to ſave that Expence.

The Deſign and Advantage of this Trade being ſingular from any Trade yet in this Nation, That there ſhall be no Uſe or Conſumption of any thing, but the Product and Manufactory of the Nation. That

That in regard there will be 20000 Perſons one way or other Employed in this Trade, and conſidering the want of People already in this Kingdom; That a Statute may be made to take out of Priſons ſuch Perſons as are kept for ſmall Debts, Fees, *&c.* of which ſort Thouſands Periſh in Goals.

And that the ſame Proviſion be made for Criminals not guilty of Murther.

A Shaved Head and a Chain would be a greater Terror than a Gallows, and be a more laſting Example than the Execution of an Hour.

It ſeems alſo a Puniſhment to the innocent for the nocent, that a man ſhould be loſt to the Nation for an Offence done to a private Perſon, and the Sufferer have no Reparation for what he hath loſt; whereas if the Offender were kept to Work during his Life, ſome Reparation might be made to the Perſon Injured, and a certain Gain made to the Nation by the Work of a man; and this way of Puniſhing Felons would bring more to Puniſhment than Death doth, for that many chuſe rather to let Felons eſcape, than Proſecute where their Life is in danger.

That all ſuch Offenders as are now Tranſported, or have Licenſe to go for Foreign Parts from *Ireland*, of the *Iriſh* Nation, be ſent to *New-found-land*, by which means they would be made uſeful and of profit to this Nation; whereas by their going to Foreign Parts they are enabled to do miſchief, and ſo it hath been found in all Rebellions of that People, they returning

returning back Experienced Commanders and Soldiers, which hath not been the leaſt encouragement to them in all their Rebellions.

This Diſpoſition of the faulty *Iriſh*, will not only be a Gain to this Nation, but alſo a Security in taking away one handle for future Rebellions, and make them, in ſome meaſure, Hoſtages for their Brethren in *Ireland*.

It may be thought a miſtake in thoſ ewho think it a good expedient to ſend the *Iriſh* to ſerve Foreign Princes, rather than venture them at Home; great part of the Common People are ſaid to be Peaceable and eaſily led into Diſcipline, and nothing but want forceth them to Diſorder; ſuch are to be valued as a Stock in a Kingdom, where the Country is almoſt waſte for want of Inhabitants; and for ſuch as are faulty, they being ſent where Labourers are wanting, and methods taken to keep them at work, they will be of good uſe; the Baniſhing of the *Moors* out of *Spain* is a laſting monument of ill Conduct, ſufficient to warn us of the like miſtake; if *a living Dog be better than a dead Lyon*, it may be thought the worſt of Men are better than none; good Laws and Diſcipline may make Bad men uſeful in a Commonwealth, but no Human Law can Create them. There are many other things that attend this Undertaking, which in Time andPlace may be offered.

Of

Of Navigation *and* Seamen.

I Find more difficulty to ſay any thing on this Subject, than on any thing relating to Trade; becauſe it is a common Theme on which men of divers Underſtandings have Wrote, and few converſant in Buſineſs, but cry it up as the *Diana* of the *Epheſians*, *England*'s *Guardian Angel*, and needs no Advocate; but yet though all agree in Adoration, yet ſome differ in the form, and others believe we are ſafe enough in the Poſſeſſion of it, when more fear we were never ſo near loſing it; among the Crowd I ſhall bring in my Obſervations, and leave to better Judgments the determination.

That our Shipping and Navigation hath been declining for many years, is evident by the loſs of that part of our Navigation which employed moſt of our Seamen; ſo it appears if we look into the Account that was taken of all the Seamen and Ships in *England* in the year 1615; the Navigation of *Europe* was not then one third of what it is now; the number of Seamen then taken, that were employed in the Ships of Trade, were but 11000, and of them 3000 in the *Newcaſtle* and Coal Trade; 1900 in the *Streights*, *Portugal*, and *Southern* Trade; 800 in the *French* Trade; 4400 in the *Greenland*, *Iceland*, and *New-found-land* Fiſhing; 400 in the *Sound*; and 500 in the *Muſcovy* Trade; this is demonſtration how we have declined the moſt laborious part of

our

our Navigation, ſince near one half of the employment of our Seamen in that Age, were in thoſe Trades and Navigation which we have now in a manner loſt, as that of the *Newfound-land*, *Greenland*, *Muſcovy*, and the *Sound*; this ſhews the want of a Council of Trade, not only of Merchants, but of the greateſt Miniſters of State.

Had our Forefathers underſtood Foreign Trade as well as they did their Native, it is probable they would have made as good Laws for the firſt, as they did for the latter: They did conſider and provide, as far as the Experience of the Age allowed, for the improvement of Trade and employment of the People; we ſee what care they took againſt Monopolizers and Foreſtallers, what exactneſs in Proviſion for the Poor, the Aſſize of their Bread; and at the ſame time care taken that they ſhould not exact in their Wages; what Penalties they laid on ſuch as did vend or make defective Manufactories; and had they known the much greater Miſchiefs that attend the Foreign Trade of the Nation, they would have provided againſt them.

For as Merchants are above the Rank of of Artizans, ſo is their Skill and opportunity to do good or harm in their Negotiations: There can be no Aſſize ſet upon their Commodities, nor Eſſay to the Curioſity of the *Indies*, or Luxury of the *Levant*, but they may be Limited and Preſcribed in their Trade, and it ſeems of the greateſt conſequence that they ſhould be ſo; for they often gain by that which

which is the Nation's greateſt Loſs; and not only Merchants, but Seamen will chuſe, as all men naturally do, that Employment which brings Profit with leaſt Toil and Labour; and that is one cauſe of the loſs of the *New-found-land* Fiſhing, and *Northern* Trades; they were Laborious and of ſmall Gain; and therefore as ſoon as we found out the *Southern*, and Plantation-Trades, we left them; and the *French*, who followed us in Trade, began where we left off, and by that means have made themſelves ſo conſiderable at Sea; and although their Navigation hath not hitherto been ſo profitable as ours to the Merchant, yet is more conſiderable to their Monarchy, than the Effeminate Navigation of the *Eaſt* and *Southern* Trades; for that 1000 *l.* in the *Northern* and Fiſhing Trade employs more men than 20000 *l.* in the *Eaſtern* and *Southern* Trades. This conſideration may be thought to affect *England* more than any part of the World; for that we are nothing on Shore longer than we Command the Seas; and our neglect and loſs of the rougher part of the Navigation in the Fiſhing and *Northern* Trades, abates near one half of the Seamen that might be Employed in theſe Kingdoms; and nothing but the hand of the Government can retrieve this loſs by encouraging the pooreſt part of Navigation, though moſt conſiderable as to increaſe of Seamen, which is the Strength of the Nation; and this cannot be done but by ſuch Banks as will Intereſt all the men of Eſtates in the Kingdom one way or other in the Navigation and Trade of the Nation.

But

But of Banks I ſhall ſay ſomething apart, and therefore now return to that of our Navigation and Seamen, in which, I believe, we cannot exceed, though upon occaſion of propoſing a way to increaſe the number of Seamen it was ſaid, and for that reaſon rejected, That the methods propoſed would make too many Seamen; that which then, and ſtill prevails with me to believe that we cannot have too many Seamen, though that ſhould happen which was objected, and to me ſeems very remote, that there would be want of Labouring men for Rural Employments, is, becauſe that if we had more than our own Navigation could Employ, yet they would not want Employment in Foreign Ships, and what they get Abroad would be moſt of it brought Home, as now what Foreign Seamen get here, they carry Home into their own Country, and our *Engliſhmen* are not ſo apt to quit their own Country as Foreigners are, who change for the better, and ours muſt for a worſe, if they did at all: But to anſwer what was ſaid, That we muſt hire Plowmen from Abroad, if we take up our Countrymen for the Sea; allowing the aſſertion (which perchance few will) yet I conceive it were the Intereſt of the Nation to make the change, for that every Seaman Abroad might reaſonably be ſuppoſed to return 10 *l. Sterling* of his Wages *per Ann.* into his own Country; for home, generally ſpeaking, they will come, and the Plowmen we fetch from other Countries whatever they get muſt be ſpent where they Earn it, their Wa-

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ges being ſeldom more than Feeds and Cloaths them, whereas a Seaman's is more than double, for he ſpends nothing at Sea.

If what I have ſaid be allowed Anſwer ſufficient to the Objection, That we may have too many Seamen, I ſhall proceed to ſhew, that we now want at leaſt as many more as we have. The meaſure I make for our Seamen is in Two particulars.

The firſt is the Numbers we Employ in the Navy.

The other is in thoſe Employed in our Merchantmen.

For the Firſt; It is too evident that there is great part in the Fleet are Land-men, and others that have nothing more to nominate them Seamen, than the Rowing in a Wherry; and however ſhift is made with them, yet I preſume it would be more pleaſing to any Commander to have Men that could Top and Yard, and able to take his Trick at Helm, and perchance there may not be above one half in moſt Ships.

For Merchantmen there need no greater demonſtration of their want, than the lying of ſo many Ships by the Walls, and ſuch difficulty to keep men from Preſs that go to Sea, and ſo many *Portugal*, *Genoeſe*, and other Free Ships Employed by our Merchants; which is not only occaſioned by the advantage of their being Free Ships, but alſo by the want of Seamen to Sail our own Ships.

Now there is a Third inducement for the increaſe of the Numbers of Seamen we want,

or at leaſt Navigation and Trade to Employ them, and in this we have different reaſons from any part of *Europe*; other Countries may encourage Seamen for their advantage in Traffick, but we muſt enlarge and encourage Numbers for our Security, and ſhould ſeek our Places for Trade and Navigation that might give conſtant Employment for as many Seamen as might at leaſt Balance the Numbers of the *French*, if we cannot arrive to that of the *Dutch*; it will be no offence to walk with as good a Sword by my Side as my Neighbour.

To clear this matter, let us look into a Calculation that was as exactly made as private Correſpondency with Merchants could do it, in the year 1687. of the Numbers of Seamen then in *England*, *France*, and *Holland*, and it was thus:

That in *England* there were not more than Forty thouſand Able Foremaſt men; in *France* more than Sixty thouſand; in the *United Provinces* more than One hundred and twenty thouſand.

If this compute be true, as we may ſuppoſe it near the matter, it may be thought there hath been no Conſideration of late years of the moſt important Affair of the Nation, and therefore the more reaſon to mind it now; and if the *French* were then Superiour to us in their Numbers of Seamen, they are much more now, for that Naval War increaſeth their Numbers by Privateers, and abates ours who depend only on Trade, and that fails in time

of

of War; Privateers we have not many, and those few we had, it is said, have met with great discouragements, of which there are many Instances given, which I dare not presume to mention, since that matter hath been under the Consideration of the Parliament; but the blame hath been laid on the Commissioners of the Prises, who, if we believe those concerned in Privateers, and others conversant in Maritime Affairs, are no great Masters in that of Trade and Navigation. If then what is here said be *tanto*, may it not deserve a thought how to enlarge, or at least retrieve that part of the Navigation we have lost in the Trades beforementioned, which if regained will Employ Twenty thousand Seamen, and beside the Profit they may bring to the Nation, would be a Sea-Militia for the security of these Kingdoms, beyond any we can have on Land.

And one man Employed at Sea adds more to the Treasure and Employments of the Poor, than five on Shore, besides replenishing the Kingdom, Seamen being like Decoy-Ducks, going abroad in better circumstances than most People in other Parts of the World do, invite others to return with them to a Place where they are better Fed and Cloathed than they are in their own Countries; and it is reasonable to believe, were our Laws for Naturalization and Freedom for Strangers but correspondent to the other advantages this Kingdom allows to any that are

Induſtrious, we ſhould ſoon increaſe our Numbers.

It now remains I ſhould ſay ſomething of ways and methods how to make Seamen; for I think it preſumption to propoſe encouragement for them we have, ſince His Majeſty hath been graciouſly pleaſed to recommend that to the Parliament.

But how to encreaſe our Numbers may not be Offenſive or Officious, if Reflections on the Pains ſome have taken to publiſh their Preſcriptions in that matter renders not this impertinent; but its not being ſo Voluminous may, 'tis hoped, prevail for its excuſe.

What I ſhall then offer is:

Firſt; Agreeable to what I have ſaid before, that our loſt Fiſhings and *Northern* Trade be reſumed, and that being National will have ſuch encouragement as ſhall in ſome meaſure force men to come into it, I mean by the advantage of Gain and Profit to Seamen; for that no human Policy and Law can bring men into Arts with Succeſs, and the increaſe of them, but by Gain, and ſecurity of enjoying it; and therefore I cannot underſtand how pulling men out of their dwellings to bring them into the Fleet can make Seamen; I would gladly hear a reaſon why we may not with as much eaſe Man our Fleet without Force, as the *Dutch*? or whether ever they uſed ſuch methods as theſe Gentlemen propoſe for getting Seamen? It is true we cannot expect men to come

come in voluntary for the King's Pay, whilſt the ſcarcity of Seamen obligeth Merchants to give double the Wages of the King's Pay; but if we had double the Seamen, that would abate; and the way to have them, I conceive, is to put in practice ſomething like that propoſed three years ſince, which was, That there ſhould be publickly aſſurance given, that whoever entred himſelf into Sea-ſervice, that was never at Sea before, ſhould be free from Preſs for Three years, by which means there would be Numbers of luſty Young men that want Employment, enter themſelves in Merchantmen, and Bind themſelves to Maſters of Ships, who would ſoon make them Foremaſt-men for their own Profit: and more would come in time of War, when they want Work at many Trades, than in time of Peace; it being great encouragement for them to be ſecure from Preſs for Three years, in which time they might hope for a Peace.

Nor would this obſtruct Manning the Fleet, for that it exempts none that are now Seamen, nor would be if this encouragement made them not ſo; and this bringing in New Men would daily add to the Fleet; for that as New Men increaſed, thoſe that were Seamen before Employed in Merchantmen, might be ſpared out of Merchant Ships, who with one fourth Foreigners, as the Act allows, and theſe New Men, might with one third of Old Seamen be Navigated.

And the way to prevent Collering Old Seamen under the notion of New, is eaſie and infallible, as was beyond Objection, even to them that encouraged not this Propoſal, demonſtrated.

If this expedient be not approv'd, it may perchance ſet better heads on more proper means, for that there ſeems a neceſſity to provide for Trade againſt times of Peace, as well as now for the Navy in time of War; and in my humble Opinion, there can be no encouragement ſo effectual to make Seamen, as exemption from Men of War for ſome Time.

Inventions to find out concealed Seamen, ſeems to me an antidote againſt making New; Force and Projects may be uſeful to make an ignorant ſervile People Slaves, but can have no good effect with thoſe that know better, and will not be ſo; there needs no trick to promote the true Intereſt of a Nation, every man will run into it; and he would be a States-man worthy of Honour that did advance the Intereſt of his Country above that of their Neighbours.

Of Building Ships.

HAving in few words, for ſo they are if regard be had to the Subject, done with Navigation and Seamen, I come to that of Building Ships; and ſome think we are in danger of wanting them for Merchantmen.

For

For the Fleet none doubts but to an extremity we do, and that lies before thoſe who can only ſupply it; but that we want Merchant Ships ſufficient for our Trade, I am afraid we don't, I wiſh we did; but whilſt ſo many Ships lye by the Walls, it is no great ſign we do; and this was our caſe before the War, more than now, which may be anſwered by the loſs of our Ships this War; but that ſeems not ſufficient, there being allowance for all, and yet too plain that we want not Ships for the Trade of *England* if we had a Peace to morrow, which is a misfortune that the Nation hath not ſo much Trade left them as to Employ one half the Seamen their Neighbours do; and until we have at leaſt always in Employment as many as the *French*, there ſeems no ſecurity to theſe Kingdoms; but it is hoped there will be ways found to Employ them, as there ſoon will be when thoſe Trades we have loſt are retrieved; and if the Great Councel of the Nation thinks it neceſſary, no human Hand or Policy can hinder them, either in that, or any other Trade of the Nation, if it be taken in hand in time. What can withſtand a People that outdoth all Kingdoms in *Europe* in Taxes, without Complaints and Famine, as they have in other Countries? A Fifth part of one years Tax might be ſo laid out, as to conquer and ſecure that we moſt want: But to come to the Propoſition of Building Ships, there are two difficulties ſtarted in this matter; one is, that the Timber of the Kingdom is

much wasted, and cannot hold out long.

The other is, that Timber from *Norway* is not to be purchased by us at such easy rates as the *Dutch* have, and consequently cannot Build so Cheap as they do; now though there is truth in both these Objections, yet are raised on another occasion, that of the Act of Navigation; yet I see no great weight in it as to the use they would make of it, that is to shew the necessity for the Nation to buy Ships of the *Dutch*; I confess to my Understanding the reasons they give, turn upon them; and were there nothing more but what they offer against the Act of Navigation in that point, it is enough to shew the good of that Act; but of this I shall speak apart, and return to the Building of Ships.

That there is nothing of greater consequence to a people that live by Trade, than to be makers of their own Tools by which they work, none will deny; now Shipping are the Tools and Utensils of the Nation; to fetch them from abroad is to Trade by Licence; whenever our *Northern* Neighbours please, we must lye still, or pay such rates as they please, that shall be equal to a Tax on our Trade; for this reason I conceive it worth a consideration how to find out an expedient; and that, with submission to better Judgments, I shall propose, is either or both of these ways.

1. That the Act of Navagation, for that part of it relating to Timber and Naval Stores, be dispenced with for three years, and that all

Customs,

Cuſtoms, Port and Town Duties be taken off for that time on Timber, *&c.* relating to Building and Fitting Ships to Sea; this will tumble in Materials faſt enough, perchance to a glut, if the following propoſition be effectually purſued; that is,

2. To give ſuch Encouragement for raiſing Naval Commodities, as Pitch, Tar, Hemp, *&c.* in our Foreign Plantations, as may advance that Trade to more than our own Conſumption; if this were done, it would make the *Northern* Princes abate their Impoſitions they have lately laid on their Commodities, and ſet them upon all ways of furniſhing us ſo cheap, as might render our attempts of raiſing them our ſelves unprofitable; and let it ſucceed to their expectation or not, the effect would be to our advantage; and the ſucceſs to either, time will ſhew.

The next thing then that is to be enquired into, in this matter, is, How our Plantations ſtand as to the natural Product of theſe Commodities, and how provided with hands to Manufacture them.

As to the firſt, I can ſay ſomething upon my own Obſervations in *America*, That *New England* is Superior to any of the *Northern* Crowns for Timber and Maſts, Pines and Firr, to make Pitch and Tarr, for Soil to raiſe Hemp, and well enough for making Iron.

But there ſeems ſome difficulties in the want of hands to work and ſupply, that is the

only Objection I ſee in this Affair; and altho that hath been too great for particular men to undertake, yet may not, tho if undertook by a publick Fund; which perchance upon a thorough conſideration may be found neceſſary to be done upon ſome ſuch Inducements as theſe.

It would make *New England*, of the moſt uſeleſs and unprofitable Plantation of this Nation, the beſt and moſt advantageous to this Nation. I might enumerate many particulars, but I preſume this will come into hands that need no more than to put them in mind of the Place and Product.

That *New England* lies better for a Market to *Spain*, *Portugal*, and the *Levant*, than the *Northern* Crowns, who now furniſh that part of *Europe* with thoſe Commodities *New England* can furniſh.

That eſtabliſhing this Trade will Employ many Ship-Carpenters and Seamen, which I cannot omit, whereever it comes in my way, to ſay, is the Treaſure and Strength of theſe Kingdoms.

That this Trade will occaſion the Conſumption of more Woollen Manufactories than all our Foreign Plantations, it being a Cold Climate, and Men with hard Labour wear out much Cloaths.

That there will be room and reaſon to give great encouragement for Foreigners to ſettle in this Plantation and Undertaking, which next to our Seamen, ſeems of moment to advance,

vance, which even thoſe that are againſt at home, will not be when they are abroad.

And to ſum up all: As this Plantation may ſave the Nation the Expence they are now at in purchaſing Naval Stores, ſo it will bring in conſiderable returns in Bullion for what they ſend into the *Levant*, *Spain*, &c.

And that this may not appear as a *Chimera*, it is to be noted, That there hath been many years ſince ſeveral Ships loaden in *New-England*, with Maſts, *&c.* for the *Streights*; but for the Reaſons before given, (the want of Hands, and Publick Encouragement) that Trade did not proſper. Merchants do not affect a Trade that takes up much Time and little Stock, as the *Lumber*-Trade doth, which is more profitable to the Ship and Men than the Merchant; and it is a miſtake in thoſe that think Merchants are always Owners; perhaps they have leaſt ſhare in the Ships of *England*. Having thus given ſome few Hints, for they are no more, if compar'd with what is to be ſaid on this Copious Subject, it may be expected that I ſhould ſay ſomething of the *Modus* for ſetting up this Manufactory, and building Ships in *New-England*: To ſet down an Exact Scheme, would take up more Sheets than I deſign Lines in this Place; but ſomething I ſhall mention.

1. To carry on this Work, it will be neceſſary that extraordinary Privileges be given to Foreign Proteſtants that will inhabit there, as having Land given them, free Liberty of Conſcience,

ſcience, greater Wages than they can have in their own Countries, Houſes for ſome time Rent-free from all manner of Impoſitions, *&c.*

2. That ſuch Encouragement be given, as may invite the Natives to work: They are very ingenious and docible, but naturally averſe to Labour; yet I have ſeen ſome of them take great pains in working Curioſities; and that which induceth me to believe they would work if they were ſure of good Wages, is the great labour they take in making their *Wampompeeg*, of which the moſt skilful and laborious amongſt them cannot make above Two Shillings a day: Now if theſe men could have ſo much a day for any other work, it is reaſonable to believe they might be brought to it, and by that means they would be better cloath'd than thoſe that are idle, and that would tempt them in alſo. But to this may be objected, That this dear Wages would make thoſe Commodities dear: To which I anſwer, That there is ſome works in Falling, Floating, and Drawing Timber, that cannot be had cheaper; and that there are no men will ſooner learn the beſt labour than they; and as the Countrey fills, and the *Indians* are brought to work, Wages will fall.

3. There may be *Negroes* brought, whoſe labour will come cheap; and their very little Children will be very uſeful in peeling Hemp, picking *Oacum*, and other things about Pitch and Tar.

This

This Undertaking being thoroughly managed, will be ſuch a Staple for Shipping and Naval Stores, as no part of *Europe* can exceed, and put theſe Kingdoms out of the Power of their Neighbours, in that of their Naval Proviſions; and our Ships may be cheaper built than in any part of *Europe*, with the advantage of preſerving the Timber of *England* for the Royal Fleet.

I have often wondred that ſuch a diſpoſition as this hath not been thought on for that unprofitable Plantation, which now brings nothing to this Nation, but to the contrary buries Numbers of Induſtrious People in a Wilderneſs, that produceth nothing but Proviſions to feed them; and yet the moſt uſeful Commodities in it for the Nation, being that which makes our Walls and Bulwarks. This neglect is ſuch as was in this Kingdom in exporting our Wool; which was conſider'd by that Wiſe Prince *Edward* the Third, who thereupon paſs'd a Law for encouraging Foreign Clothiers, and that they ſhould ſettle in what part of the Kingdom they pleas'd: A good Preſident for giving all the Encouragement and Immunities imaginable, to invite Foreign Carpenters and others into a Plantation, that might raiſe ſuch Commodities as are the Foundation of our Wealth and Security.

Of the Act of Navigation.

TO write upon this, is to enter upon Controverſy in Trade, which I think doth as little good as that in Religion, and is commonly undertook, or at leaſt ſtarted by thoſe that have leaſt ſhare in the Practice. I have never been ſo attach'd to my own Underſtanding, as to conclude thoſe in the wrong that differ with me; but I muſt own my ſelf a great Votary to the Act of Navigation, believing it the Sea *Magna Charta*, and the only Law that ever paſt in *England* for the ſecuring our Trade and Navigation; and I had like to have ſaid, with it our Religion, Laws, and Properties too; for that no men in the Government are more averſe to Popery and Arbitrary Power than they are: And altho I believe we can never add too many to our Number on Shore, yet perhaps it may be the Intereſt of the Nation to keep as many *Engliſh* in our Sea-Employments as we can; for that they are in truth our Guards; and tho when Naturaliz'd, and Inhabitants, Foreign Seamen may be uſeful, yet ſo as that they may be but a ſmall Proportion to the whole Number of Seamen in our Trade and Navigation. It is obſervable, that notwithſtanding the States in *Italy* are inſeparably united in their Force at Sea againſt the *Turks*, yet they are ſo jealous of each others Growth in that Strength, that they are oblig'd to each other not to exceed the

the Number of Galleys they are by Compact allowed to have. This provident care of theirs might put us in mind of our Neighbours, and that we have no reaſon to declaim againſt the Act of Navigation, that doth only encourage our own Seamen, and that we have reaſon to do, ſince we have no Compact with thoſe about us to reſtrain their Growth at Sea, but every Government enlarge as much as they can.

And whatever reaſon they have for it, we have more both as to our Trade and Safety. One reaſon that is given why there are no Beggars in the *United Provinces*, is becauſe of the Multitude of Seamen; none gives more Employment to the Poor than Seamen, their own Conſumption of the ordinary Manufactory, beſides the ſmall Adventures of them they carry abroad; but I think it needleſs to enter upon the Benefits we receive by the Act of Navigation; we are in poſſeſſion of it, and therefore have only to anſwer the Charge laid againſt it, and I take them all to be comprehended under Four Heads.

1. That by the Act of Navigation we have loſt ſeveral Trades, as the *Muſcovy*, *Greenland*, *Norway*, and in great meaſure the Trade into the *Sound*.

2. That the Act of Navigation hath raiſed the Wages of Seamen to the great Diſcouragement of all Merchants.

3. That by the Act of Navigation we have very much leſſened the Building of Ships.

4. That

4. That by the Act of Navigation we have totally loſt ſome Trades, becauſe they of that Countrey have no Shipping, and Strangers of other Countries cannot bring their Commodities. Theſe are the ſeveral Topicks upon which all is ſaid that I can find againſt the Act of Navigation. I ſhall begin with the firſt:

That by it we have loſt the *Muſcovy* Trade. This is ſaid, but no Reaſon or Inſtance given to evince how, as there is for ſome of the following; and ſince they can give no reaſon, I can find none out of the Act of Navigation; but other Reaſons there are how we come to loſe that Trade.

One is the heavy Cuſtoms plac'd on Commodities brought from Foreign Parts, which is in conſequence a Prohibition to their Exports from us to any other Countrey: The *Dutch*, who court Trade as their Miſtreſs, lay their Cuſtoms ſo that they can export them again with little Charge; and the *Muſcovite* Trade requires variety of Commodities in a Cargo which we have not proper for that Countrey of our own Product, and our Cuſtoms hinder ſhipping out any: This put that Trade with Advantage into the hands of the *Dutch* in the Reign of *Charles* the Firſt, and they taking the Advantage of the Civil Wars in *England*, repreſented us under ſuch Characters to that Court, that no *Engliſh* for ſome time durſt appear there. Theſe are the true Cauſes of our Loſs of the *Muſcovy* Trade; not the

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Act of Navigation, which was made ſome years after.

It is further ſaid, By it we have loſt the *Greenland* Trade, but appears not by any thing that is offered, but that the *Dutch*-built Ships are cheaper, and ſail'd with fewer men: It is true, *Dutch*-built Ships are cheaper, but as true that an *Engliſh*-built ſhip will laſt twice as long: So then I cannot find the odds, but that the ſailing with fewer Men is an Argument for the *Greenland* Trade, ſhews their being Strangers to that Trade, who bring it for a reaſon, becauſe the *Greenland* Fiſhing obligeth the Ships to carry Five times the number that would ſail her, to be employed in their Shalops when they come to the Fiſhing. So then there is no advantage by the Number of Seamen to ſail a Ship to *Greenland*, when they are forc'd to carry ſo many for their Fiſhing.

But for diſcourſe ſake, to ſee if any thing could be made of this Argument, allowing it was as they miſtake, that a *Dutch* Ship and Men can fiſh cheaper than we; yet where is the Argument, That therefore *Engliſhmen* go not at all? It is equally alike to the *Engliſh*, whether they manage it dearer or no; for they ſet their Rates accordingly; ſince by the Act of Navigation the *Dutch* nor any other Nation can bring into *England* the Product of that Fiſhing, but upon paying double, Aliens Duty. So that I can ſee nothing in this matter; but believe we have loſt that, with other *Northern* Navigations, by our *Southern* and *Le-*

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want Trade, being more pleaſant and profitable Voyages for Seamen, and ſo wanted Men for our leſs profitable Trade; and we ſhould for ſome other Trades we yet hold, as that of *Virginia*, and the little we have left of the *Newfound-land* Fiſhing, if the Act of Navigation did not ſecure them. There ſeem'd for theſe Reaſons, no doubt, grounds for the Act of Navigation, to confine this Trade to our Ships and Seamen, as much as they could; otherwiſe it would certainly have fallen into Foreign hands: And according to my ſenſe of Trade, it were better for the Nation to have neither Whale, nor Oyl, nor Whalefin, than to have them by Purchaſe from Foreigners.

I make this diſtinction, That there is no Gain to the Nation by what is conſumed in it; and neither of theſe Commodities are exported.

The next Objection is, The Loſs of the *Norway* Trade; and in this there is ſomething; but I cannot ſee ſo great a miſchief in it, as is repreſented, but that which may be remedied by a diſpenſation for employing *Dutch* Ships in that Trade, ſo they be ſail'd by *Engliſh* men; for that I conceive is the great deſign, and of more value than all the reſt in the Act of Navigation; for that in moſt of our Trades, *Engliſh*-built Ships are uſed, and *Dutch* not proper; ſo there needs no force when it is done of choice: But that which may put an end to this Exception in the Act of Navigation, and moſt of the *Northern* Trade,

Trade is propos'd in the foregoing Eſſay of Building Ships.

That which is objected of hindring our Trade in the *Sound*, hath nothing in it, when at the ſame time it appears, that of Seven Ships a year ſent there, Five goes in there Ballaſt.

That we have loſt our Trade into the *Sound*, is plain from the variety of Commodities the *Dutch* carry in one Ship; and we commonly carry the Product of *England*, which is one of our Miſtakes in Trade, that for fear of a ſmall loſs in the Cuſtoms, we loſe ſo conſiderable a Trade as we do in the *Sound*, and *Northern* Kindoms: But of this, ſomething ſhall be ſaid apart. And ſo I have done with the firſt Head in relation to the Act of Navigation, which better Judgments may determine, but in mine there is nothing appears to the prejudice of the Act.

The ſecond Objection againſt the Act is, That it hath raiſed Sea-mens Wages, ſo that Merchants are now at the Mercy of Seamen, who raiſe their Wages at pleaſure, and ſo impoſe upon Trade, to the diſcouragement of Merchants: All this I know to be literally true; and allowing the Matter of Fact, we will ſee what Inferences are made from it: They that are againſt the Act of Navigation, bring it for demonſtration, and it is ſo, That Seamen have ſince raiſed their Wages, and that is a Prejudice to Trade: Now to make this matter clear to every Underſtanding, it may be needful to ſhew, that in this there is two

handles, both to be laid hold on in Argument, one is the Profit of the Merchant, the other is that of the Publick and National Intereſt.

The Complaint lies thus; Before the Act of Navigation, Merchants had Seamen at eaſy and low Wages; this was their Gain, and the Foreign Seamens Profit, who carried their Wages out of the Kingdom, and moſt commonly in Money.

The Act of Navigation bars theſe Foreign Seamen from ſailing entirely in our Ships, that is, from being the whole Crew; for one fourth of Foreign Seamen the Act allows; which I think is the only miſtake in that Statute, to give Foreign Seamen any room in our Ships: But thus it ſtands, By excluding Foreign Seamen, ours have rais'd their Wages, and that is a loſs to the Merchants, I mean it is ſaid ſo; but that is equally a miſtake with the reſt; for Merchants will rate their Goods according to their Charge; and it is the Conſumer, not Importer, that pays it: But allowing the matter as it is ſaid, the Merchant he gets by having Foreign Seamen, the Nation gets by employing our own Seamen; which of thoſe is to be encouraged, I think can be no queſtion among *Engliſh*-men.

I confeſs, amongſt all the Arguments that I have heard made uſe of, this of Seamen was moſt ſurprizing, becauſe I always thought it the greateſt Authority, and invincible Argument for the Act of Navigation. It ſhews the Neceſſity for a Law to make Seamen, when

when you have not Three fourths to ſail your Merchant-men; for as before is ſaid, the Act allows of making uſe of one fourth Foreigners; and yet we ſee the Merchants complain for want of more. If theſe Gentlemen that are diſpleaſed with the Act of Navigation, would but conſider the Condition of the Nation in all parts of its Trade and Navigation, I perſuade my ſelf they would be Advocates on the other ſide, for their Diſcourſe ſhews them men of Ingenuity, and well-affected to their Countrey; and tho I will not pretend to convince them by dint of words, yet I do not deſpair of doing it, by laying before them the State of the Nation in this Particular, when this Act was, and was firſt thought on, in the time of the *Rump*-Parliament, thus, as I find it by Story and Relation of ſome that were Merchants and Commanders at Sea in that time: The *Rump*-Parliament quarrelling with the *Dutch*, took the opportunity of making Trade the chiefeſt pretence for it, believing that would be Popular, and affect *England*; and the truth is, there was ground enough for Quarrel in matters of Trade; the *Dutch* grew very faſt upon us all the Reign of *Charles* the Firſt; and it is a miſtake to ſay that we loſt our Trade into the *Sound* and *Muſcovy* ſince the Act of Navigation; for it was ſtealing from us the year 1634, and was in a manner quite loſt by the year 1652: But that which moſt affected, and gave offence to the Nation, was, the *Dutch* had got ſuch a Trade to our

Plantations in the *Weſt-Indies*, that we could ſcarce get ſo much Sugars home, as the Nation conſum'd; they ſupplied our Plantations with Wines and Brandies, Linnen, and almoſt every thing they ſpent in the Iſlands. This being ſo notorious, the then Government thought upon the Act of Navigation, which had good effect in preſerving that part of our Trade and Navigation that was left; and perhaps we owe at this day the Preſervation of theſe Kingdoms to it; for that upon the Reſtoration of *Charles* the Second, had not this Act lain in the way, there might not have been ſuch courſe taken as there was in our Trade and Navigation: The diſpoſition of thoſe times ſeem'd to tend another way, for Pleaſure more than Trade; but this Act ſtood as a Centinel for the Traffick of the Nation, and put them in mind of other things.

I have now brought this Act to the year 1660. and let us ſee how the Trade of the Nation ſtood then.

Upon the Reſtoration of *Charles* II. there was a Set of People in Trade, that had been bred up in it in the time of the Parliament, and theſe Men having the Money, as well as the Trade of the Kingdom in their hands, were at that time eaſier heard than they have been ſince. They not knowing what force Foreign Money might have at Court, thought themſelves never ſafe until they got the Act of Navigation confirm'd; and being early in their Application, they ſucceeded to their own Satisfaction,

tisfaction, with ſome Advantages more than was in the former Act. For it is to be obſerved, That under *Oliver*'s Government, the Act of Navigation had little force; both the Government, and the Merchants, were willing to let it ſleep; for that during the War with *Spain*, to avoid their Privateers, which were ſo numerous, that ſcarce a Ship could ſtir without a Convoy, moſt of our Trade was managed in *Dutch* bottoms, they being at Peace with *Spain*; this Management had almoſt ſtifled the Act of Navigation, and Merchants finding their preſent Gain by the cheapneſs of *Dutch*-Sailing, did not conſider the future Conſequence, immediate Gain was what they minded: But upon the Reſtoration, the ſame men that under the Uſurp'd Government were content with the General Scramble of the Nation, and to come in for a Share, were now for ſecuring Trade to Poſterity, which they were careleſs of, whilſt they had no Foundation of Law or Government.

I have been the larger in this Account, becauſe I find it generally believ'd, That this Act of Navigation was originally brought forth in prejudice to the *Dutch*, and for the ſame reaſon renew'd in the Reign of *Charles* the II. whereas in truth it was at firſt made with as much reaſon and neceſſity as our Laws againſt Exportation of Wooll; for neither that nor any thing elſe can with reaſon be thought our own, longer than our Ships and Seamen have

the Guard of it, and that they cannot have, unleſs they have the Carriage; and if that be allow'd, which I ſubmit, then the *Second* Objection againſt this Act, That it raiſes the Wages of Seamen, will not be found material, but rather be, as indeed I think it, the beſt Argument that can be given for the Act of Navigation; if Seamen be our Guards, as well as Labourers; and Foreign Seamen by their cheap Sailing have ſo beaten out ours, that we have not ¼ to ſail our Ships in time of Peace, ſure it was time to conſider of a way to increaſe and incourage our Seamen.

The *Third* Objection made againſt the Act of Navigation, is, That it hinders the Building of Ships; this I confeſs would have weight in it, if it were poſſible to be true, which to me it doth not appear, no more than becauſe I cannot get brown Bread, I will ſtarve rather than eat white: *Dutch* Ships are cheaper, and ſail'd with fewer Men, and conſequently can bring Lumber for building Ships cheaper than *Engliſhmen* can; and becauſe we cannot fetch theſe Materials at ſo eaſy rates, therefore we will be ſullen, and neither fetch nor buy of the *Danes* or *Sweeds*, who by the way, methinks, ſhould be able to bring their own Commodities as cheap as the *Dutch*, and ſo leave off building Ships, Trade, and Navigation. This would be a ſurly dogged Humour indeed, exceeding any thing in ſtory, that a Nation ſhould make a Law that ſhould be ſo injurious

injurious to their own Trade, as that with one conſent they would ſet down and Starve; for ſo it muſt be, if we build not Ships ſince we cannot uſe Foreigners; it ſeems more reaſonable to believe, let the Charge be what it will, Ships would be built the faſter. For that, in ſhort, then there would be no Trade, nor will the raiſing price of Ships or Freight be a loſs to Merchants or Owners, becauſe it will be charged on the Commodities, and that is paid by the Conſumers. But to make it yet more plain, that after all this pretence, there can be no prejudice either to the Merchant or Conſumer by employing our own Ships; We will examine further, what Trade requires our own built Ships and Seamen, and then how much our Ships will be the dearer, by buying Naval Proviſions from the *Danes* or *Sweeds*, or by fetching them in our Ships, than if we bought them from the *Dutch*; for it is they that are pretended to bring Materials cheapeſt.

For the firſt part of the Enquiry, What Trade requires our own Ships and Men?

There remains then nothing but ſome part of the *European* Trade, and greateſt part of that before the Act of Navigation was manag'd by our own Ships; and all that Foreign Ships were employ'd in, was the *Northern* Trade; the conſequence of which was, the *Dutch* by degrees taking it all out of our hands.

The ſecond Inquiry is, How much our Building will be dearer by the *Sweeds* and *Danes*, and our own fetching of Materials?

I cannot find either by my own Experience, (and I have traded conſiderably in all three) or any others, That the *Dutch* could bring Timber, *&c.* cheaper than the *Danes* or *Sweeds*; and all the difference I could ever find betwixt our Ships and theirs, was not above 5*s.* in a Tun, tho we loaded *Engliſh*-built Ships; and how that affects our Building, is eaſily computed, when in building a Ship of 200 Tun, all that is needful to import for her Building and Rigging, will be little more than 50 Tun Stowidge; for it is to be noted, we uſe moſt of our own Timber and Plank for every part of the Ship, but her Decks and finiſhing within board, with ſome other ſlight Ornamental part of the Ship; but this difference in the Carriage is ſo inconſiderable, that it will not ſerve for a diſpute. I ſhall therefore allow the difference of Freight to be 10*s. per* Tun, which no man that is converſant in that Trade will ſay; and the *Quantum* to be double, that is, 100 Tun, which would make the difference 50*l.* in Building a Ship, that fitted to Sea might coſt 2000*l.* This being a large Calculation for them that bring in the Objection, yet makes the difference ſo ſmall, that it is of little conſideration among Private Men, and will be of leſs to the Publick, eſpecially where our own Ships are employed; and it is alſo to be remembred, that we make not

Building

Building of a Ship as a Manufactory for Sale, but for our own uſe; and whether it would be more Profit for the Nation to Buy Ships, though they could be had 30 *per Cent.* Cheaper than we could Build for, I leave to Judgment: I know the common Topick, Cheapneſs of Carriage will be brought, as often it is, where it is foreign to the thing controverted, as it is here; *Dutch* Ships being Cheaper Built then ours, can afford Cheaper Freight than we; and ſo we loſe the profitable part of Trade, as Carriage no doubt is: This at firſt ſight looks formidable, as if it would ſtand its ground; but enquiring into the matter, we ſhall find nothing in it; I have before ſhewed that to more than three parts of the world, our Ships are allowed, more deſirable than any Foreign Ships, eſpecially than ſuch as are ſlight and cheaper Built; ſo then there is three parts in four that we ſtand at leaſt on the level with other Ships.

That which remains is part of the *European* and Home-Trade; let us ſee how we could get a ſhare of that Carriage, if we had as Cheap Sea-Waggens as our Neighbours; for no better are moſt of the Ships us'd in the Lumber-Trade. For that part relating to the *Dutch* Importation into their Country and Rivers, none will pretend unto; and for that of the *Northern* Crowns, I mean their Importations, the *Dutch* will have the Advantage, until we can perſwade them to two things.

Firſt,

Firſt, That they will Eat no Bread, and then follow our example, place ſuch Duties on all Goods Imported into *Holland*, that there may be no poſſibility of Shipping them out again; until theſe two particulars happen, we roul a ſtone up hill, to imagine we can upon equal terms deal with them in the *Northern* Trade; for that they can ſend Ships loaden with Commodities of all Countries, where we muſt ſend them light; and they can bring back Corn in Barter, and returns for what they carry there; but we have ſeldom need of Corn in this *Northern* Trade; we can then at moſt aim at no more than Navigating our own expence in it; ſo here is no Freight for us.

We then come to the *French* Trade; and they are wiſer than to let any Carry for them, but from them you may; they wiſely laid 5 *s. per* Tun upon Foreign Ships, but none upon their own, as we have done: All this being matter of Fact, I cannot find if we had Ships as cheap as Eggſhells, where we ſhould Employ one more on Freight to Foreigners than we do, and they are very few to the *Southward*, and in the *Levant*, in neither of which Cheap Sailing is in demand, but Ships of Strength and Force; and for that reaſon the *Engliſh* have been in moſt eſteem there.

I think there needs no more to anſwer the Objection, that the Act of Navigation hinders the Building of Ships, or that we want ſlight Ships, ſince we have little uſe for them, and none

none at all if they any ways interfere with the Act of Navigation.

We now come to the laſt exception againſt the Act: That by it we have totally loſt ſeveral Trades; for that by the Act none but *Engliſh*-built Ships can Import the Commodities of any Foreign Country, or the Ships and Men of that Country, and perhaps they have none; and we Trading not there at all, the Trade is loſt. This had I only heard in Diſcourſe, and not ſeen in Print, I ſhould not have mentioned it, leſt it might have been thought a Wiſp of Straw of my own lighting; but I place it as I find it; for I leave nothing out of all I could ever hear Objected againſt the Act, and therefore bring in this, though, I think, there needs no Anſwer more than to ſay, There are no Ships to bring away the Product of a Country, and we ſend none to fetch them; it is a ſtrange Indication that we have no uſe of their Commodities, or our Ships are better employed, and that we want Ships and Men for ſuch poor Trades, which nothing will force us to increaſe, but the Act of Navigation; it being a certain Maxim in Trade and Navigation, *That whilſt there is room in the eaſie and moſt profitable Part, none will run into the poor and more Laborious.* And we not having Seamen enough to manage our profitable and eaſie Navigation, as I have before mentioned, is one reaſon of the decay of our rougher and poor Navigation; which was wiſely provided for in this Act, *That all Foreign Import,*

Import, of Fiſh, Oyl, Whale, Finn, &c. *ſhould pay double Allience Duty.* This was intended to give us advantage above Foreigners; and would, no doubt, be a good encouragement, if we had our other Trades ſupplied, to bring Seamen into the Fiſhing Trade; but having loſt the Trades for want of Ships and Seamen, that therefore we ſhould ſit down with the loſs, and take no courſe to retrieve it, becauſe at firſt we cannot bring in theſe Commodities as Cheap as Foreigners can, is with the Sloathful to ſay, *A Lyon is in the way.*

But we had, when this Act was made, better Reſolutions, and knew then, and ſo may now, That it is better for the Kingdom to Pay twenty Shillings to their own Men, than Fifteen to Strangers; and by doing that for a time, we may regain thoſe Trades, and manage them on as good terms as any other.

This I believe will be thought ſufficient cauſe for the ſupporting the Act, as it was for making it.

I ſhall add no more, but ſet down in few words the Tenor and Force of the Act of Navigation, and leave every man to his own Judgment of it.

The Act in the Preamble tells us, the neceſſity for Increaſe of our Ships and Seamen.

That for Encouragement to ſo good a Work, that after a time limited, no Foreign-built Ship, or men, ſhall Import any Commodities,

modities, but of the Product of their own Country.

The Conſequence of which is, That no other Nation ſhould have the benefit of Carriage to us, but each Country their own; and if they could not do it ſo Cheap as we, then our Ships would have the Carriage, and not Foreigners; by which our Ships and Seamen would be Increaſed.

The other part of the Act is for encouraging our Fiſhing, and that is by placing double Allience-duty upon all Fiſh, Oyl, *&c.* Caught and Imported by Foreigners.

This ſure cannot be a fault, to give our own Men encouragement above Strangers; ſince the Navigation and Trade of the Kingdom gives them better Livelihood than the Fiſhing would; if Foreigners, who live hardly, might import Fiſh as free from Duty as they, the conſequence of which would be, that we ſhould loſe the Fiſhing, as we have ſome other Employments of our Seamen.

Of Banks *and* Lumbers.

PReſuming the uſefulneſs of Banks in *England* is not now controverted, I ſubmit to better Judgments how Banks and Lumbers may be ſet up in all Parts of this Kingdom for the Encouragement of the Manufactories and Navigation thereof. I conceive there is nothing ſo deſtructive to the Trade and Employment,

ments of the Nation, as engroſſing the Money and Buſineſs of the Kingdom in great and few hands; that would bring the Kingdom into the Rickets, draw all the Nouriſhment to the Head, *London* would ſwell beyond its natural growth, and the other parts of the Kingdom waſte and dwindle to nothing.

The Banks then that I ſhould humbly Propoſe, may be thus eſtabliſhed;

1. That in every Shire there be a Bank erected by Act of Parliament.

2. That the Fund for theſe Banks be Land and Money: And becauſe there may be no difficulty in point of Title of ſuch Lands as ſhall be put in Bank, that a Law may paſs in Parliament, That whoever is in quiet Poſſeſſion of an Eſtate, and ſhall place it in the Bank as part of the Original Fund, that Land ſhall be perpetually in the Bank, whatever Title may afterwards appear; and ſhall only be transferr'd to him that ſhall recover the ſame: For it is to be underſtood, that whoever puts Land in Bank, is never to receive more out than his proportionable part of the Gain ariſing from the General Stock: So that Land remains the ſame, whoever makes a Title to it.

But for the better Credit of Land in the Bank, a Proviſo may be in the Act, That no Title of Land put into the Bank ſhall be queſtion'd after years: This will give a Reputation to any particular perſon's Title of Lands

Lands in the Bank, if he ſhould have occaſion to ſell his Intereſt, which otherwiſe will not be of equal Value with thoſe that put their Original Fund into the Bank in Money.

The Fund of Banks being thus eſtabliſhed by Land and Money in each County, the next thing will be to appoint the *Quantum*, and who ſhall come in; for it is not to be doubted, but there will be more than enough, and every Shire will ſtrive to bring in as much as they will be permitted.

For the General Fund of the whole Kingdom, I ſuppoſe Four Millions may be ſufficient to begin with, half Land, and half Money; and for the particular Proportions of each Shire, their Proportion in the Land-Tax may be a good Rule. The Manage of theſe Banks in each Shire may be by men choſen among themſelves.

That twice a year a General Meeting may be in *London*, two being ſent out of every Shire, there to ſettle Accounts, and make Dividends of the Profit; which would be great ſatisfaction to all perſons concerned, and would quicken the Trade and Buſineſs of the Nation.

For the diſpoſe, putting out, and receiving Money in Bank, there can be no ſet Rules, and therefore will depend upon the Accidents of War and Trade; but ſome ſtanding Rules may be thought on for the Rates of Exchange through the Kingdom; upon which there will ariſe great part of the Gain, and will be conſiderable in the Advantage and Eaſe of the Nation,

tion, in quick circulating of the Money, and the moſt effectual way for ſuppreſſing High-way-men, for that no man need travel with more than Pocket-Money for his Expence, when he may have Bank-Tickets to any part of the Kingdom where he goes.

There ſeems a difficulty, Whether theſe Banks ſhould pay any Intereſt-Money, having ſo great a Fund, with which, and their Credit, they may ſupply all the Wants and Employments of the Nation, for that it will be impoſſible to hinder theſe Banks from having an Unlimited Credit; ſo that perchance Two Millions of Ready Money may anſwer Ten Millions in the Currant Payment of the Nation; for that few will take Money out, but transfer from one account to another.

And it is reaſonable to ſuppoſe, that moſt men will lodge their Money in Bank, for the greatneſs of Security, and ſaving the trouble and hazard of telling Money.

For theſe Reaſons it may be thought a Bank will pay no Intereſt; and that may be injurious to the Nation in two reſpects: Firſt, It may neceſſitate many people to carry their Money out of the Kingdom, where they may make ſome Benefit by it, when they are debarr'd from any Advantage at home. The other miſchief it may do, reaches Widows and Orphans, whoſe Support often depends upon the Intereſt of their Money; and if Banks pay none, they will be able to ſet out at very low Intereſt, more than the wants of the Kingdom will require.

But

But that which I conceive may be an expedient in this caſe, may be a Proviſo in the Act of Parliament, That theſe Banks ſhall ſet out no Money at Intereſt upon Real Eſtates; by which means there will be room for private perſons to ſet out Money upon Mortgages.

Theſe Banks being National, may be ſo conſtituted as to retrieve that moſt conſiderable part of the Navigation of the *Greenland* and *New-found-land* Fiſhing: But becauſe that may be diſcouraging to ſome perſons that underſtand not Trade, and only depend on their Money at Intereſt, it will be neceſſary to ſhew, That notwithſtanding the Trade propos'd, there ſhall be a certain Fund or Dividend of at leaſt Five *per cent. per Ann.* beſides the Profit of Trade, and that may be done thus; Suppoſing the Fund of Land to be valued at 20 years Purchaſe, the Rent will be Five *per Cent.* for Two Millions; then for the other Two Millions in Caſh, allowing but Five *per Cent.* more for the Gain of Exchange, that compleats the Five *per Cent.* upon the whole Fund. This is a Certainty, without reckoning any Advantage to be made by the Credit of the Bank, and putting out Money to Intereſt.

There will not be here room to mention the *Modus* or Advantages that will attend that moſt important Undertaking of the *New-found-land* Fiſhing: I ſhall only ſay, it would employ all the looſe and unprofitable hands in the Na-

tion; it would add Ten thouſand Seamen to the Strength of it; it would bring a Treaſure into the Nation taken out of the Sea; it would occaſion the Conſumption of great Quantities of Manufactories; it would advance the Price, and conſume great Quantities of Proviſions of this Kingdom; for that *New-found-land* is no place for either Tillage or Cattel, and we ſhall employ many Foreign Hands in that Trade.

The Advantages that will ariſe to the Nation by theſe Banks, need no explanation, for that they are eaſy to every Underſtanding; among the reſt, that of ſupplying the King with Money upon any Publick Funds, as ſhall be appointed by Parliament, is not the leaſt.

Lumbers for poor Artizans and others, is an Appendix to Banks, and may by Funds out of them in each County be ſupplied ſo, as that the Poor may have Money to carry on their Trades and Employments on Pawns, that may be ſo eaſy, and with the advantage of ſelling in Publick Sales what they leave in Pledge, and that what they borrow ſhall be of more advantage and eaſe to them than if the Money were lent them *gratis*; and may be of great uſe in the improvement and enlarging the Manufactories of the Nation, which are much diſcouraged by the neceſſities and hardſhips that are put on the poor for want of Sales, which theſe Lumbers will ſupply, and the beſt and readieſt means for the poor to ſell their Goods every Month; whereas now they are often

often forced to ſell their Labour to Shopkeepers at ſuch rates, as gives them little more than what their Materials coſt them; which hath the worſe effect, in that it encourages a ſet of Idle men in the Kingdom, with folded Arms in a Shop, to live upon the Ruins of Handicrafts-men; their Numbers are increaſed even to a Nuſance, by their eaſy way of living on the Oppreſſion of the Poor.

If we took Preſidents from abroad, this evil would not have grown thus amongſt us. It is obſerved, That there is not ſo many Retailers in *Amſterdam*, as there is in ſome Market-Towns in *England*; and this evil is the more to be condemn'd, ſince we want not a Statute to prevent it; for in the 5*th*. year of Queen *Elizabeth* a Statute paſs'd, That Artizans Sons ſhould not be Apprentices to Shopkeepers: There was then none turn'd from Mechanical Arts to be Retailers, as now there are Numbers that do, and greateſt part *Quakers*, a People that for many reaſons may be thought as unprofitable to the Nation as *Jews*; and ſo I take the greateſt part of Retailers and Hawkers to be; they ought as much to be reſtrained and kept to a *Quantum*, as Hackney-Coachmen and Coffee-Houſes; for tho both, if confin'd to Numbers, are uſeful, yet in their exceſs are Nurſeries of Idleneſs, and ſuch as I am of opinion would have been provided againſt by our Anceſtors, had they ſprung up in their days: But on this Subject, among other Enormities, I have writ at large in another Diſ-

courſe, which when the diſpoſition of the Times will admit, may come forth.

Of Agriculture *and* Rural Imployments.

BEfore I enter upon the Subject, I muſt Apologize for my ſelf, that I am to the laſt degree ignorant of the Practick part of Huſbandry; the whole Courſe of my Life having been ſpent in Maritine-Towns, or on the Sea.

I beg pardon, contrary to Cuſtom, before I commit the Error, giving an inſtance of my ignorance in Country Matters; which I ſhould not trouble the *Reader* with, if I did not think it divertive.

It was in the 32 year of my Age, that I firſt had a thought of Acres; and being importun'd by Friends to fix ſomething on the Land, and not have all on the Sea, I made a Purchaſe before I ſaw it, for that I might do with as much Judgment, as if had; ſome time after I went to ſee the Purchaſe I had made, and on the Road gave as much Diverſion to my Friends, in declaring my want of Underſtanding the Diſtinction and Names of every thing the Field produced, as I did trouble to them to inform me; tho it was near Harveſt, I knew not Barly from Wheat in the Ear; and when I came to the Eſtate, and riding thorow the Woods (of which there were

were great Quantities on the Land); I was yet more troubleſome in asking the Names of Trees, not being able to diſtinguiſh an *Oak* from an *Aſh*, or that from *Wich-Hazel*, which made a merry Fellow, a Ranger in the Woods, ſay, *He had a Maſter he was ſure would not queſtion his Care or Honeſty, ſince he knew not a Tree from a Weed.* After this Account of my ſelf, I hope to be excuſed, if I miſtake in any Point of Country and Land-Improvement; nor ſhall I attempt to preſcribe Rules, or give my Opinion in theſe matters, as I may venture to do in that of Trade; and therefore as Rural Matters have relation to that, ſo I ſhall here treat of the *Plow*, and of the *Pruning-Hook*; the *Field*, and the *Orchard*.

How Land may be improved, there cannot be a truer or greater Preſident, than that of the Land of *Canaan*, a ſpot of Ground not ſo large, as one third part of *England*, yet maintained double the People *England* doth. That the Fertility of the Soil did not make the difference in their great increaſe above ours, is obſerved by ſuch as Travel there; that at this time under the manage of the Lazy *Turk*, that Land is much worſe, and brings forth leſs increaſe than ours. So then it is apparent, Labour and Induſtry makes the difference. Now, if the foregoing Computation be right, that there were near double the People in that little Spot than there are in *England*, (as there is reaſon to believe) for that in *David*'s Reign the Number of Fighting-men was 1510000,

beſides the Two Tribes not brought into the Account; this being allowed, it will follow, that there is not one Sixth part made of the Land of *England*, as might be: But to this, might be ſaid, the want of Hands is the cauſe of our ſcant Production; and that nothing but Crouds forceth Labour; this is true as to matter of fact, but not ſo as to be without a Remedy: Nmbers of People make Laws for Induſtry out of neceſſity, and good Laws may do the ſame with this Advantage, that enlarging the Labour in *Rural* Affairs, will produce more than is conſumed in the Nation; and that adds to the Treaſure of it: Whereas Numbers of Hands that only work to feed themſelves, adds nothing to the Riches of the Kingdom. Now as Riches increaſe, ſo will the Bodies of Men (which is indeed the beſt Treaſure); we ſee this in the *United Provinces*, where all Nations flock as Fowl where they find beſt feeding; Money is ſo to Men, and where that abounds, Labour and Induſtry is encouraged; but to ſit down with an Opinion, that *England* cannot be improved for want of People, is too mean and abject for *Engliſhmen*.

There is a viſible Proſpect how great Improvements may be made in this Kingdom by the Hands we have; and if that were done, we ſhould ſoon have more.

There are thouſands of Perſons in this Kingdom that beg, who might be ſerviceable in many things relating to the Plow; if lame

in

in their Feet, yet they may weed Corn, that perchance now takes up the time of a lusty Man.

A Blind man may carry Burthens in company with other; a Man without Hands may look to Cattle, *&c.*

There are numbers of Men of no Employment, that we have Laws that might oblige to Work, and if they are not full enough to reach them, they may be made to do it.

There is also another Set of Men that are lost in the Nation under the Cover of being Serving-men and Footmen. Now this might be restrained, and Men confined to the Numbers they keep according to their Quality, which if done, might add to the Plow, and other Country Employments, many thousands in this Nation.

I differ with them, who complain of our Gentries humour of taking *French Valets de Chambres.* I wish there were a Law that none but such should be taken into such Employments, or at least that no Gentleman should have above one *Englishman* in his Family in Service, as a Waiter or Foot-man; this would drive Young men into the Country to Labour, when they had no expectation of a Lazy Life and Maintenance, as now they have.

Tho this is a General Complaint thorow the Kingdom, of the want of Men for the Plow, and that the Wages of a Plow-man is

riſen from 5 to 10 *l. per Annum*, no man will ſay, it is becauſe there are not Men in the Kingdom, but it is becauſe there are eaſier ways to get a Living; tho at the ſame time, if thoſe that chuſe that idle Life of waiting on Gentlemen, did but conſider their hazard of begging their Bread in their Old Age, or ſooner, if Sickneſs, or any other Accident befal them: Whereas there are few inſtances of Labouring-men in the Country that come to ſuch misfortunes; many from the Plow or Orchard, arrive to a decent Living and Competency, but few from holding a Plate.

I have often lamented the ſight of Four or five luſty young Fellows hanging at the Tail of a Coach, when they are wanted at the Plow; and ſince it is not practicable to get Plow-men from *France*, but is to get Foot-men and *Valets de Chambres*, to me it would ſeem a good Law to prohibit *Engliſhmen* from ſuch Employments, and that would bring in *French* and other Foreigners enough to ſupply their places.

Thus I have laid down my thoughts of adding hands to our Country Employments, which may be improved by better Judgments. All I ſhall further ſay, is, That to me it ſeems plain, that there might be 40000 Perſons added to thoſe we now have in Country Employments, and they would ſo advance, and enlarge *Rural* Production, as would invite

vite Numbers, both at home and from abroad, into the Country, which hath been for ſome Ages ſo much neglected; the humor of this Nation running too much after the *French*, I mean thoſe of them that come abroad; for their Peaſantry never do; thoſe we have from them are Artizans or Lacquies, and ſuch too many of our Nation affect to be, and ſo quit their Country Employments; I mean not by this, any diſcouragement to Manufactories, they cannot exceed; but ſome have too many that attend them, eſpecially ſuch as are conſumed in the Kingdom, which advanceth the Vanity of the Nation, whilſt the moſt ſolid Improvements and Employments of it are neglected for want of hands; and if what is here propoſed may produce and bring Numbers into Country Labours, the next enquiry will be, how to Employ them, ſo as to make Plowing and Land-Improvements as much a Trade and Manufactory as other Manual Arts; for that which hath always diſcouraged Tillage in this Kingdom, hath been the practice of making Proviſion for no more than the Expence of the Nation; whereas if ſuch quantities of Grain was Sowed as might make it a Commodity for Exports, that would ſoon invite Merchants to Exportation.

The Statute which was made for encouragement of Tillage, was for that part of allowance,

lowance at the Cuſtom-Houſe of good uſe; but ſomething more muſt be done to make Corn a Commodity for Exportation, and that muſt be to have quantities yearly Sowed beyond the Expence of the Nation, that ſo Merchants may be ſure of a conſtant Trade, as they have in the *Sound*; where the Country depend as much on their Harveſt, as *France* doth on its Vintage; and Merchants being ſure of a conſtant ſupply, make Proviſion for the Trade; whereas ours is only a chance Market, when the Harveſt proves beyond expectation, and often failing, puts us upon Importing Corn from other parts: This in a Country ſo natural for Grain, and that lies ſo near *Holland*, which fetcheth ſuch quantities from abroad, may be thought not the leaſt of our miſtakes in Trade and Commerce: To me, I confeſs, it ſeems a great neglect, to ſee ſo many Acres ſet for Five or Ten Shillings an Acre, and the Tenants ſcarce able to pay that, which under Corn might yeild to the Farmer Five Pounds; and though part of that goes in Labour, yet the whole is ſo much added to the Treaſure of the Nation; and would be the greateſt advantage to the Rent of Lands that ever was, or can be by any other means raiſed in the Kingdom.

Now that what I here propoſe may appear practicable, ſomething ſhall be offer'd that, I conceive may ſhew what I here ſet down to be more than meerly Notional.

1. Firſt

1. Firſt then as to the Grain, which is moſt in demand in Foreign Markets, and they are Rye for *Holland*, Horſe-Beans for *Bilboa*, and Barly for *Portugal*; I mention not Wheat, becauſe that we have moſt of, but the other three is leaſt propagated in *England*, though the moſt proper for Exportation, and ſeems poſſible, conſidering how much nearer we lye to a Market than *Dantzick*, to be exported from *England* as Cheap as from any Part; and as Quantities in other Commodities enables the Seller of them to abate in Price of what they can when they are ſcarce; ſo it would be in this of Corn; when a Farmer is more ſure of a Market for Twenty Acres of Corn, than he is now of Five; he may abate of his Price, and yet be a greater Gainer than when he hath but a little, and a greater Price; we account it ſo in all other Commodities.

2. For Encouragement of making Corn an Export, it is to be remembred, That we ſend moſt of our Ships light to *Bilboa* and *Lisbon*; ſo that will help our Navigation that loads our Ships; then it is to be conſidered, that our Exports to *Lisbon*, do not anſwer our Imports from thence, ſince we fetch ſo much Wine from *Portugal*; and it is hoped ſince we have fallen into it, we ſhall never exceed in *French* Wine: They neither can, nor will take off our Commodities; Corn they never did, as *Portugal* will.

The difficulty that appears to the introduction of this ſo profitable a diſpoſition of the Lands

Lands of *England*, is how to bring the Nation to it; for all new things are hardly propagated.

Three things I ſubmit, that to me ſeem of ſtrength to bring the Nation into it: And they are theſe,

1. That a Statute be made to oblige all perſons to a certain Proportion of Plowing, according to what they keep in Grazing.

2. That all Land under Tillage ſhall be free from any manner of Tax.

3. That ſome eaſe may be given as to the Tythe for what is Exported; it is a heavy load and diſcouragement, one tenth for that which goes out; care ſhould be taken to make what goes out as Cheap as poſſible, that ſo no other Country might Underſel us; I would not be thought to leſſen the Income of the Clergy; to the contrary, I think, they ought to partake of all the Increaſe of the Kingdom; and what I here propoſe, would be for their advantage, by encouraging the greater Exports; and ways might be found to give ſome encouragement from them to the Plowman, that might be eaſy to both. But to all that hath been ſaid for encouragement of Tillage, there appears a ſeeming Objection, and that is, We often ſee Corn ſo Cheap, that the Farmers are broke by it, and what would they do with double the Quantities, as it is hoped this Law and Encouragement might produce? This is partly anſwered before,

That

That the reaſon why we want a Market for our Corn, is becauſe we have not always Store, and ſo Merchants make no Proviſion for the Trade, nor will quit a place where they are ſure of Supply; ſo if once it were known that *England* ſet upon the Trade of Corn, there would not be want of Buyers; it is not to be imagined how ſoon the Plenty of a Commodity makes a Trade; I remember when we imported quantities of Silk Stockins from the *Levant*, but as ſoon as we had the Invention of Looms, the ſtream turned, and we ſend them there. Plenty makes Cheapneſs, and that increaſeth Trade.

But there is another Anſwer to be given for the want of a Market for our Corn, and that is, We run moſt on Wheat, and neglect thoſe ſorts before-mentioned, which are moſt in demand abroad, and of which we could never exceed, but the more we provide, the greater will the Price be; for Quantities, as is before ſaid, brings numbers of Buyers; whereas where there are not Stores of a Commodity, Buyers are but few, and then they ſet the Market, and have the Commodity at their own Rate.

I ſhall end this Firſt Part of my Eſſays as I began them, Truth may be allowed repetition; That as this Nation never more wanted Thoughts and Endeavours to enlarge and improve their Navigation and Commerce than now (having ſo Potent a Neighbour as the

French,

French that grow upon us) ſo, Bleſſed be God, *England* never had a greater Monarch that lays out himſelf to make us a great and flouriſhing People: If we are wanting to our ſelves, it is our fault, and will be our misfortune; Meaſures for Trade muſt ariſe from the Subject, Grants and Conceſſions from the King.

FINIS.

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